

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

PRESENTED TO THE LIBRARY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BY

MR. WILLIAM J. HOWARD

IN MEMORY OF HIS LATE WIFE, MRS. ANNIE HALLECK KELSEY HOWARD, A GRADUATE OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT, CLASS OF 1880.

APRIL 8, 1902.

BX
7795
.W7
A3
1883

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, GOSPEL LABOURS AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,
OF THAT FAITHFUL MINISTER OF
JESUS CHRIST,

JOHN WOOLMAN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HIS LAST EPISTLE,

AND OTHER WRITINGS.

The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. *Isaiah* xxxii. 17.

PHILADELPHIA:
FOR SALE AT FRIENDS' BOOKSTORE,
No. 304 ARCH STREET.

1883.

CONTENTS.

The Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire, at their Quarterly Meeting held at York, the 24th and 25th of the third month, 1773, concerning John Woolman..... 9

A Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the 1st day of the eighth month, in the year of our Lord, 1774, concerning our esteemed friend John Woolman, deceased..... 13

CHAPTER I.

His birth and parentage, with some account of the operations of Divine grace on his mind in his youth—his first appearance in the ministry—considerations while young on keeping slaves..... 19

CHAPTER II.

His first journey, on a religious visit, into East Jersey, in company with Abraham Farrington—thoughts on merchandizing, and learning a trade—second journey, with Isaac Andrews, into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—third journey, with Peter Andrews, through part of West and East Jersey—some account of his sister Elizabeth, and her death—fourth journey, with Peter Andrews, through New York and Long Island, to New England—fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the lower counties on Delaware..... 31

CHAPTER III.

His marriage—the death of his father—his journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania—considerations on keeping slaves—visits to the families of Friends at several times and places—an epistle from the General Meeting—journey to Long Island—considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel—letter to a Friend..... 43

CHAPTER IV.

His visiting the families of Friends at Burlington—His journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina—Considerations on the state of Friends there, and the exercise he was under in travelling among those concerned in keeping slaves: with some observations on this subject—His epistle to Friends at New Garden and Cane creek—His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes..... 59

CHAPTER V.

Considerations on the payment of a tax laid for carrying on the war against the Indians—Some notes on Thomas à Kempis and John Huss—Meetings of the committee of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia—The present circumstances of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey very different from those of our predecessors—The drafting of the militia in New Jersey to serve in the army, with some observations on the state of the members of our Society at that time—His visit to Friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones—Proceedings at the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves..... 81

CHAPTER VI.

His visiting the Quarterly Meetings in Chester county; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in

a visit to such as kept slaves there—Some observations on the conduct those should maintain who are concerned to speak in meetings for discipline—Several visits to such who kept slaves: and to Friends near Salem—Some account of the Yearly Meeting in the year 1759; and of the increasing concern, in divers provinces, to labour against buying and keeping slaves—The yearly Meeting epistle—His thoughts on the smallpox spreading—and on inoculation..... 94

CHAPTER VII.

His visit in company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, &c., in New England—Remarks on the slave trade at Newport, and his exercise on that account; also on lotteries—Some observations on the island of Nantucket 110

CHAPTER VIII.

His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury and Squan—publishes the second part of his Considerations on keeping negroes—The grounds of his appearing in some respects singular in his dress—visits the families of Friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly meetings—visit to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the river Susquehanna 125

CHAPTER IX.

His religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a juggler—John Smith's advice; proceedings of a committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764—Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom, occasioned by hearing of the cruelty of the Indians to their captives—Visits the families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield and Burlington, in 1764, and the meetings on the sea coast from Cape May toward Squan in 1765—visit to the lower counties on Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1766, in company with John Sleeper; some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers; and observations on the different state of the first settlers in Penn-

sylvania who depended on their own labour, and those of the Southern provinces who kept negroes—visit to the northern parts of New Jersey the same year, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767, and afterwards other parts of Pennsylvania and the families of Friends at Mount Holly; and again several parts of Maryland in 1768—further considerations on keeping slaves; his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the sale of one; and what he did in consequence of it—thoughts on Friends exercising offices in civil government 152

CHAPTER X.

His exercise for the good of the people in the West Indies—communicates to Friends his resignation to visit some of these islands—The state of his mind, and the close considerations he was led into while under this exercise—preparations to embark, and considerations on the trade to these islands; released from the concern he had been under—religious engagements after his return home—His sickness, in which he was brought to a very low state; and the prospects he then had 169

CHAPTER XI.

Preparing to visit Friends in England—Embarks at Chester, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ship bound to London—His deep exercise, in observing the difficulties and hardships the common sailors are exposed to—Considerations on the dangers to which youth are exposed, in being trained to a sea-faring life; and its inconsistency with a pious education—thoughts in a storm at sea; with many instructive contemplations on the voyage—arrival at London..... 177

CHAPTER XII.

Attends the Yearly Meeting in London—proceeds towards Yorkshire, visiting several Quarterly and other meetings in the

counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland; and thence again into Yorkshire, and to the city of York—some instructive thoughts and observations—letters on divers subjects—hears of the decease of William Hunt; some account of him—sickness at York; and death there 196

Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes; recommended to the professors of Christianity of every denomination..... 215

Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, recommended to the professors of Christianity of every denomination. Part the Second 232

Considerations on pure wisdom and human policy; on Labour; on Schools; and on the right use of the Lord's outward gifts..... 274

Considerations on the Harmony of Mankind; and how it is to be maintained..... 291
CHAP. I.—On serving the Lord in our outward employments..... 292
CHAP. II.—On the example of Christ..... 299
CHAP. III.—On Merchandising..... 303
CHAP. IV.—On Divine admonitions..... 312

Remarks on sundry subjects.
CHAP. I.—On loving our neighbours as ourselves.... 316
Note on the horrors of the slave trade..... 326
(See page 432 "Friends' Library.")
CHAP. II.—On a Sailor's life..... 350
CHAP. III.—On Silent Worship..... 354

An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends 356

THE TESTIMONY OF FRIENDS

In Yorkshire, at their Quarterly Meeting held at York, the 24th and 25th of the third month, 1773, concerning JOHN WOOLMAN, *of Mount Holly, in the province of New Jersey, in America, who departed this life at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, in the suburbs of this city, the 7th of the tenth month, 1772, and was interred in the burying-ground of Friends, the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.*

THIS our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for some time, to visit Friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same with the full concurrence and near sympathy of his friends and brethren at home, as appeared by certificates from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to which he belonged, and from the Spring-meeting of ministers and elders, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London at the beginning of the last Yearly Meeting, and after attending that meeting travelled northward, visiting the Quarterly Meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamtonshire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He visited many meetings on the west side of this county, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland, from whence he came to our Quarterly Meeting in the last ninth month; and though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the sittings of that meeting except the last.

His disorder, which proved to be the smallpox, in

creased speedily upon him, and was very afflicting; under which he was supported in much meeekness, patience and Christian fortitude. To those who attended him in his illness, his mind appeared to be centered in Divine love, under the precious influence whereof, we believe he finished his course, and entered into the mansions of everlasting rest.

In the early part of his illness he requested a Friend to write, and then broke forth thus:

"O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear—I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand, and stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father. I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will. I waited for deliverance from thee, and thou hadst pity upon me, when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy son, and that thou wast teaching me to follow him: and I said, thy will, O Father, be done."

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity, and being obedient to the manifestations of Divine grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his church.—

Dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the Divine Hand, so that the spring of the Gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God. Skilful in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the people where his lot was cast. His conduct at other times was seasoned with the like watchful circumspection and attention to the guidance of Divine wisdom, which rendered his whole conversation edifying.

He was fully persuaded, that as the life of Christ comes to reign in the earth, all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation will come to an end; but under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, his life was often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making slaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that state; and on that account we understand he not only wrote some books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the negro masters, especially those in profession with us, sensible of the evil of such a practice; and though in this journey to England he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind remained, as appears by a short treatise he wrote in this journey, and his frequent concern to open the miserable state of this deeply injured people. His testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this subject, wherein he remarked, that as we as a Society, when under outward sufferings had often found it our concern to lay them be

fore those in authority, and thereby in the Lord's time, had obtained relief, so he recommended this oppressed part of the creation to our notice, that as way may open, we may represent their sufferings in an individual, if not a Society capacity to those in authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and superfluities, is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great self-denial, with respect to the things of this life, and earnestly to labour with Friends in the meekness of wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our testimony in these things; recommending them to the guidance of the blessed Truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein, against contenting themselves with acting up to the standard of others, but to be careful to make the standard of Truth manifested to them, the measure of their obedience; for said he, "That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the Spirit of Truth; that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we may have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us."

We conclude with fervent desires, that we as a people may thus, by our example, promote the Lord's work in the earth; and our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in his infinite wisdom he hath greatly stripped the church, by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders, he

may be pleased to send forth many more faithful labourers into his harvest.

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of said meeting.

THOMAS BENNETT,	SAMUEL BRISCOE,
JOHN STORR,	JOHN TURNER,
JOSEPH EGLIN,	JOSHUA ROBINSON,
THOMAS PERKINSON,	THOMAS PRIESTMAN,
JOSEPH WRIGHT,	And divers other Friends.

A Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the 1st day of the eighth month, in the year of our Lord, 1774, concerning our esteemed friend JOHN WOOLMAN, *deceased.*

HE was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington, and province of West New Jersey, in the eighth month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him, even in his young years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But through the workings of the enemy, and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance, that was finally succeeded by a godly sorrow not to be repented of, and so became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true Gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age, and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him, he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father, capable of dividing the

word aright to the different states he ministered unto, dispensing milk to babes, and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, in his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to his people."

He was a loving husband, a tender father, and very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction was evident by his visits to them; and he frequently relieved them by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he sometimes mentioned, lay almost continually upon him, and to obtain liberty to those captives, he laboured both in public and private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burthens on this oppressed people, but remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but, being clear, we might on such occasions address the Amighty with a degree of confidence, for his interposition and relief; being particularly careful as to himself, not to countenance slavery, even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own mind, and the minds of others, redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also, which appearing in a more refined

dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible, avoided the use of plate, costly furniture and feasting; thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto, and was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and though a man of industry, avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiousness after perishable things; being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly, for the instruction of poor Friends' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youth among us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them, to choose conscientious and pious tutors, saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children," and "to labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom lead into; frequently exhorting

others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the Divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of discipline, his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating with those who had done amiss: he visited such in a private way in that plainness which Truth dictates, showing great tenderness and Christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly Meeting, in which he was a good example, and particularly useful; assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and the neighbouring provinces, with the concurrence of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe had good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him, and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his hand writing the following observation and reflections. "As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body, hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away; so this list may probably revive a like thought in some, when I and the rest of the persons above-named, are centered in another state of being.—The Lord, who was the guide of my

youth, hath in tender mercies helped me nitherto, he hath healed me of wounds, he hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; he remains to be the strength of my life; to whom I desire to devote myself in time, and in eternity.

"Signed, JOHN WOOLMAN."

In the twelfth month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he had found his mind drawn towards a religious visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the first month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and endorsed by our Quarterly Meeting, and by the Half-year's meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the fifth, and arrived in London in the sixth month following, at the time of their annual meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being "perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the testimony of Friends at York, in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the smallpox, on the 7th day of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in Friends' burying-ground in that city, on the 9th of the same, after a large and solid meeting held on the occasion, aged nearly fifty-two years; a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed Truth, we

hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in, and by order of the said meeting, by

SAMUEL ALLINSON, Clerk.

Read and approved at our Quarterly Meeting, held at Burlington the 29th of the eighth month, 1774.

Signed by order of said meeting,

DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.

LIFE OF JOHN WOOLMAN.

CHAPTER I.

His birth and parentage, with some account of the operations of Divine grace on his mind in his youth—his first appearance in the ministry—considerations while young on keeping slaves.

I HAVE often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God; and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington county, West Jersey, in the year 1720; and before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of Divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and as I went from school one seventh-day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of sight, and sitting down, I read the twenty-second chapter of the Revelations; "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, &c.;" and in reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation, which, I then believed, God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory.

This, and the like gracious visitations, had such an

effect upon me, that when boys used ill language, it troubled me; and through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from it.

The pious instructions of my parents were often fresh in my mind when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me. My parents having a large family of children, used frequently on first-days after meeting, to put us to read in the Holy Scriptures, or some religious books, one after another, the rest sitting by without much conversation; which, I have since often thought, was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God, in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of, now living: and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in this age than in past ages, often troubled me while I was a child.

A thing remarkable in my childhood was, that once going to a neighbour's house, I saw on the way, a robin sitting on her nest, and as I came near she went off, but, having young ones, flew about and with many cries expressed her concern for them. I stood and threw stones at her, till one striking her, she fell down dead: at first I was pleased with the exploit, but after a few minutes was seized with horror, for having, in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones, for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them; and after some painful considerations on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds and killed them, supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably; and believed, in this case, that Scripture pro-

verb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for some hours, could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus He, whose tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exercise goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reproved me for some misconduct, to which I made an undutiful reply; and the next first-day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advised me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blameable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind, and getting home, I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me; and do not remember that I ever, after that, spoke unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.

Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company; and though I was preserved from profane language, or scandalous conduct, still I perceived a plant in me which produced many wild grapes. Yet my merciful Father forsook me not utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways; and the sight of my backslidings affected me with sorrow; but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance. Upon the whole, my mind

was more and more alienated from the Truth, and I hastened toward destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had found comfort in reading the Holy Scriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now estranged therefrom. I knew that I was going from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return; hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and youthful vanities and diversions my greatest pleasure. Running in this road I found many like myself; and we associated in that which is the reverse to true friendship.

But in this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sickness, so that I doubted of recovering; and then did darkness, horror and amazement, with full force, seize me, even when my pain and distress of body were very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with confusion; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myself. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but in a deep sense of my great folly, I was humbled before him: and at length, that word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition; and in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement, that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exercise remained with me a

considerable time; but by degrees, giving way to youthful vanities, they gained strength, and getting with wanton young people I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and had spoken peace to me in the time of my distress; and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly; on which account, at times, I felt sharp reproof, but did not get low enough to cry for help. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous; but to exceed in vanity and promote mirth, were my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people; and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents, several times admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, and had a good effect for a season; but not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter, when he came, found entrance. I remember that once, having spent a part of the day in wantonness, as I went to bed at night, a Bible lay in a window near my bed, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the text, "we lie down in our shame, and our confusion covers us;" this I knew to be my case; and meeting with so unexpected a reproof, I was somewhat affected with it, and went to bed under remorse of conscience; which I soon cast off again.

Thus time passed on: my heart was replenished with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of vanity were presented to my imagination, till I attained the age of eighteen years; near which time I felt the judgments of God in my soul, like a consuming fire; and looking over my past life, the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be delivered from those vanities; then again, my heart was strongly inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict. At times I turned to folly; and then sorrow and confusion took hold of me

In a while, I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities; but there was a secret reserve in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus, for some months, I had great troubles, there remaining in me an unsubjected will, which rendered my labours fruitless, till at length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly visitations, I was made to bow down in spirit before the Lord. I remember one evening I had spent some time in reading a pious author; and walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from all those vanities which so ensnared me. Thus, being brought low, he helped me; and as I learned to bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from his presence; but not keeping in that strength which gave victory, I lost ground again; the sense of which greatly affected me; and I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my sins to God, and humbly craved help of him. I may say with reverence, he was near to me in my troubles, and in those times of humiliation opened my ear to discipline. I was now led to look seriously at the means by which I was drawn from the pure truth, and learned this, that if I would live in the life which the faithful servants of God lived in, I must not go into company as heretofore, in my own will; but all the cravings of sense must be governed by a Divine principle. In times of sorrow and abasement, these instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness; and being young, and believing, at that time, that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steadily to meetings; spent first-day afternoon chiefly in reading the Scriptures, and other good books; and was early convinced in my mind, that true religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures. That as the mind is moved by an inward principle, to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being; by the same principle it is moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world. That, as by his breath the flame of life was kindled in all sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and, at the same time, exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, is a contradiction in itself.

I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions: but believed, that sincere, upright-hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the cross, and simply followed the openings of Truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened; my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private, and to keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to [describe] it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me; my heart was tender, and often contrite, and universal love to my fellow-creatures increased in me: this will be understood by such who have trodden in the same path.

Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces who dwell in true meekness. There is a harmony in the

sound of that voice to which Divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whose passions are regulated; yet all these do not fully show forth that inward life to such who have not felt it: but this white stone and new name are known rightly to such only who have them.

Though I had been thus strengthened to bear the cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me, and strong temptations to wrestle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, whose gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation; and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve it in winter evenings, and other leisure times; and being now in the twenty-first year of my age, a man, in much business at shop-keeping and baking, asked me if I would hire with him to tend shop and keep books. I acquainted my father with the proposal; and, after some deliberation, it was agreed for me to go.

At home I had lived retired; and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the Father of mercies, that he would preserve me from all taint and corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might serve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial, with which I had been, in a small degree, exercised in a more private life. The man who employed me, furnished a shop in Mount Holly, about five miles from my father's house, and six from his own; and there I lived alone, and tended his shop. Shortly

after my settlement here, I was visited by several young people, my former acquaintance, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever; and, at these times, I cried to the Lord in secret for wisdom and strength; for I felt myself encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh occasion to bewail the follies of time past, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people: and as I had now left my father's house outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can express.

By day I was much amongst people, and had many trials to go through; but in the evenings, I was mostly alone, and may with thankfulness acknowledge that, in those times, the spirit of supplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my strength renewed.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotchmen as servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mount Holly to sell; one of whom was taken sick, and died.

In the latter part of his sickness, he, being delirious, used to curse and swear most sorrowfully; and the next night after his burial, I was left to sleep alone in the same chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness; I knew, however, that I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity; and was not free to ask any one, on that occasion, to sleep with me: nature was feeble; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

After a while, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company; and I began to be

known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. As I had experienced the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a succour to me through a sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted, and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compassion for the youth, who remained entangled in snares like those which had entangled me from one time to another; this love and tenderness increased; and my mind was more strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd; and one day, being under a strong exercise of spirit, I stood up, and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the Divine opening, I said more than was required of me; and being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to such a degree that I could not take satisfaction in any thing. I remembered God, and was troubled; and, in the depth of my distress, he had pity upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet, being truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies; and after this, feeling the spring of Divine love opened, and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace. This, I believe, was about six weeks from the first time. As I was thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the pure Spirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and taught me to wait in silence, sometimes many weeks together, until I felt

that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his flock.

From an inward purifying, and a steadfast abiding under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others: all the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but wherever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his Spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the condition of others.

This truth was early fixed in my mind; and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed, lest, while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, and cause me to utter words from wordly wisdom, and depart from the channel of the true Gospel ministry. In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment, that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements, that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than Truth opened my way therein.

About the time called Christmas, I observed that many people from the country, and dwellers in town, resorting to public houses, spent their time in drinking and vain

sports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular, there was much disorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to go and speak to the master of that house. I considered I was young, and that several elderly Friends in town had an opportunity to see these things; but though I would gladly have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exercise was heavy: and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly; and then, with prayers and tears, I besought the Lord for his assistance, who, in loving kindness, gave me a resigned heart. Then, at a suitable opportunity, I went to the public house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I went to him, and told him I wanted to speak with him; so we went aside, and there, in the fear and dread of the Almighty, I expressed to him what rested on my mind; which he took kindly, and afterwards showed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought, that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her; so, through weakness, I gave way, and wrote it; but, at the ex-

cuting of it, I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said, before my master and the Friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This in some degree abated my uneasiness; yet, as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer, if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was. Some time after this, a young man of our Society, spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him; he having lately taken a negro into his house. I told him, I was not easy to write it; for, though many of our meeting, and in other places kept slaves, I still believed the practice was not right; and desired to be excused from the writing. I spoke to him in good will; and he told me, that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted of her.

CHAPTER II.

His first journey, on a religious visit, into East Jersey, in company with Abraham Farrington—thoughts on merchandizing, and learning a trade—second journey, with Isaac Andrews, into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—third journey, with Peter Andrews, through part of West and East Jersey—some account of his sister Elizabeth, and her death—fourth journey, with Peter Andrews, through New York and Long Island, to New England—fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the lower counties on Delaware.

My esteemed friend Abraham Farrington, being about to make a visit to Friends on the eastern side of this

province, and having no companion, proposed to me to go with him; and after a conference with some elderly Friends, I agreed to go. We set out on the 5th day of the ninth month, in the year 1743; and had an evening meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our Society dwelt; the room was full, and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house; to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of assembly, they being in town on the public affairs of the province: in both these meetings my ancient companion was enlarged to preach, in the love of the Gospel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield; and had six or seven meetings in places where Friends' meetings are not usually held, being made up chiefly of Presbyterians, and my beloved companion was frequently strengthened to publish the word of life amongst them. As for me, I was often silent through the meetings; and when I spake, it was with much care, that I might speak only what Truth opened: my mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable Friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult; but after some days deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject; so that I expressed

what lay upon me, in a way which became my youth and his years: and though it was a hard task to me, it was well taken, and, I believe, was useful to us both.

Having now been several years with my employer, and he doing less at merchandize than heretofore, I was thoughtful of some other way of business; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber, in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind, through the power of Truth, was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniences, that were not costly; so that a way of life free from much entanglement, appeared best for me, though the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but did not see my way clear to accept of them; believing the business proposed would be attended with more outward care and cumber than it was required of me to engage in.

I saw that a humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little: and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving; but that commonly with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant man at that business; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting, that if I should settle, I might, by this trade, and a little retailing of goods, get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my employer, and we soon agreed on terms; and then, when

I had leisure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with this man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business for me; and was taught to be content with it, though I felt, at times, a disposition that would have sought for something greater. But, through the revelation of Jesus Christ, I had seen the happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deeply into it; and, at times, this desire arose to a degree of fervent supplication, wherein my soul was so environed with heavenly light and consolation, that things were made easy to me which had been otherwise.

After some time, my employer's wife died; she was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours: and soon after this, he left shop-keeping; and we parted. I then wrought at my trade, as a tailor; carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline; and found an enlargement of Gospel love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit Friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Being thoughtful about a companion, I expressed it to my beloved friend Isaac Andrews, who then told me that he had drawings to the same places; and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After considerable time passed, and several conferences with him, I felt easy to accompany him throughout, if way opened for it. I opened the case in our Monthly Meeting, and Friends expressing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions; his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

We left our province on the 12th day of the third month, in the year 1746, and had several meetings in the upper part of Chester county, and near Lancaster; in some of which, the love of Christ prevailed, uniting us

together in his service. Then we crossed the river Susquehanna, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called the Red-lands; the oldest of which, as I was informed, did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer sort of people who commonly begin to improve remote deserts: with a small stock they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate; that Friends, who visit such, may well sympathize with them in their hardships in the wilderness; and though the best entertainment such can give, may seem coarse to some who are used to cities, or old-settled places, it becomes the disciples of Christ to be content with it. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongst these people; and the sweet influence of his Spirit supported us through some difficulties: to him be the praise.

We passed on to Manoquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanandoah, and had meetings; some of which were comfortable and edifying. From Shanandoah, we set off in the afternoon for the old settlements of Friends in Virginia; and the first night, we, with our pilot, lodged in the woods, our horses feeding near us; but he being poorly provided with a horse, and we young and having good horses, were free to part with him; and next day did so. In two days after, we reached our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia; and taking the meetings in our way through Virginia, were in some degree, baptized into a feeling of the conditions of the people; and our exercise in general was more painful in these old settlements, than it had been amongst the back inhabitants: but through the goodness of our heavenly Father, the well of living waters was, at times, opened to our encouragement and the refreshment of the sincere-hearted. We

went on to Perquimons, in North Carolina; had several meetings, which were large, and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance amongst the young people. We turned again into Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we had not been at before, labouring amongst Friends in the love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given; and thence went to the mountains, up James River, to a new settlement, and had several meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our Society. In our journeying to and fro, we found some honest-hearted Friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of Truth, among a backsliding people.

From Virginia, we crossed over the river Potomac, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general visit to the meetings of Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland, and were at their Quarterly Meeting. We had some hard labour amongst them, endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened, in the love of truth. Taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed homeward, where, through the favour of Divine Providence, we reached, the 16th day of the sixth month, in the year 1746; and I may say, that through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: first, in regard to my entertainment; when I eat, drank, and lodged free-cost, with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share

of the burthen, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burthens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them, in private, concerning it. Secondly; the trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally living without much labour, were frequently the subjects of my serious thoughts; and I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not at once, or twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increasing concern for Friends on our sea-coast; and on the 8th day of the eighth month, in the year 1746, with the unity of Friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before-mentioned, I set forward, and visited meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbour; and had meetings at Barnagat, Mannahockin, and Mane-Squan, and so to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury. Through the goodness of the Lord way was opened, and the strength of Divine love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting, we met

with our dear friends Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good service there.

The winter following died my eldest sister, Elizabeth Woolman, jun., of the smallpox, aged thirty-one years. She was, from her youth, of a thoughtful disposition, and very compassionate to her acquaintances in their sickness or distress, being ready to help as far as she could. She was dutiful to her parents; one instance whereof follows: It happened that she, and two of her sisters, being then near the estate of young women, had an inclination one first-day after meeting to go on a visit to some other young women at some distance off, whose company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expressed their desire to our parents; who were dissatisfied with the proposal, and stopped them. The same day, as my sisters and I were together, and they talking about their disappointment, Elizabeth expressed her contentment under it; signifying, she believed it might be for their good.

A few years after she attained to mature age, through the gracious visitations of God's love, she was strengthened to live a self-denying exemplary life, giving herself much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may show, in some degree, her disposition:

Haddonfield, Eleventh Month 1st, 1743.

Beloved brother, John Woolman—In that love which desires the welfare of all men, I write unto thee. I received thine, dated 2nd day of the tenth month last, with which I was comforted. My spirit was bowed with thankfulness that I should be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodness is extended to the meanest of his creation; therefore, in

his infinite love, he hath pitied and spared and showed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite lost; but, at times, I am refreshed and comforted as with the glimpse of his presence, which is more to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford: so, with desires for thy preservation with my own, I remain

Thy affectionate sister,

ELIZABETH WOOLMAN, JUN.

The fore part of her illness she was in great sadness and dejection of mind, of which she told one of her intimate friends, and said, when I was a young girl I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented for it; and added, I have of late had great satisfaction in meetings. Though she was thus disconsolate, still she retained a hope, which was an anchor to her: and some time after, the same friend came again to see her, to whom she mentioned her former expressions, and said, it is otherwise now, for the Lord hath rewarded me sevenfold; and I am unable to express the greatness of his love manifested to me. Her disorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being sorrowful, she took notice of it, and said, dear mother, weep not for me; I go to my God: and many times, with an audible voice, uttered praise to her Redeemer.

A Friend coming some miles to see her the morning before she died, asked her, how she did? She answered, I have had a hard night, but shall not have another such, for I shall die, and it will be well with my soul; and accordingly she died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found amongst her writings; written, I believe, at four times:

I. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes

as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

II. O Lord, that I may enjoy thy presence; or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul.

III. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me.

IV. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy presence, that I may be seasoned with thy salt, that thy grace may abound in me.

Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit Friends in New England, and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews, we obtained certificates from our Monthly Meeting, and set forward on the 16th day of the third month, in the year 1747, and reached the Yearly Meeting at Long Island; at which were our friends Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoskins, and Elizabeth Hudson, from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews, from Chesterfield; several of whom were favoured in their public exercise; and, through the goodness of the Lord, we had some edifying meetings. After this, my companion and I visited Friends on Long Island; and, through the mercies of God, were helped in the work.

Besides going to the settled meetings of Friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other societies, and had a meeting at Oyster Bay, in a dwelling-house, at which were many people: at the first of which there was not much said by way of testimony; but it was, I believe, a good meeting: at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having visited the island, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our

way to Oblong, Nine-Partners and New Milford. In these back settlements we met with several people, who, through the immediate workings of the Spirit of Christ on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with him: they were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that Society, were used to spend their time often together in merriment, but some of the principal young men of that company being visited by the powerful workings of the Spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up his cross, could no longer join in those vanities; and as these stood steadfast to that inward convincement, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions; so that, through the power of Truth, several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls.—These young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship; and besides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them: but, in time, their judgment in matters of religion disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that Society; and such of them who stood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through. Their meetings were in a while dropped; some of them returning to the Presbyterians, and others, after a time, joined our religious Society.

I had conversation with some of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship which is performed in spirit and in truth. From hence, accompanied by Amos Powel, a Friend from Long Island, we rode through

Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by Presbyterians; who were generally civil to us, so far as I saw: and after three days riding, we came amongst Friends in the colony of Rhode Island. We visited Friends in and about Newport and Dartmouth, and generally in those parts; and then went to Boston; and proceeded eastward as far as Dover: then returned to Newport, and not far from thence we met our friend, Thomas Gawthrop, from England, who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there nearly a week, and from thence came over to Dartmouth: and having finished our visits in these parts, we crossed the sound from New London to Long Island; and taking some meetings on the island, proceeded homeward; where we reached the 13th day of the seventh month, in the year 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may say in general, we were sometimes in much weakness, and laboured under discouragements; and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of Divine love, we had seasons of refreshment, wherein the power of Truth prevailed.

We were taught, by renewed experience, to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the Spirit of Truth, and utter that to the people which Truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged to one meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work: he was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burthen, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding a concern to visit Friends in the lower counties on Delaware, and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland,

and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved ancient friend John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and set off the 7th day of the eighth month, in the year 1748; were at the meetings of Friends in the lower counties, attended the Yearly Meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to most of the meetings on the Eastern Shore; and so home by the way of Nottingham: were abroad about six weeks; and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exercise, at times, was heavy; but, through the goodness of the Lord, we were often refreshed: and I may say, by experience, "He is a strong hold in the day of trouble." Though our Society, in these parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition; yet, I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them, who labour to serve him uprightly, but have many difficulties to encounter.

CHAPTER III.

His marriage—the death of his father—his journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania—considerations on keeping slaves—visits to the families of Friends at several times and places—an epistle from the General Meeting—journey to Long Island—considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel—letter to a Friend.

About this time believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord, with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeably to his will; and He was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah

Ellis; to whom I was married the 18th day of the eighth month, in the year 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750, died my father, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years.

In his life-time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina, in the year 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves, which some time before his decease I showed him. He perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account.— In his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, whether I expected soon to proceed to take the advice of Friends in publishing it? and, after some conversation thereon, said, I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the poor negroes; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever.

He made mention of his end, which he believed was now near; and signified, that though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of Truth, and of the love and goodness of God from time to time, even until now, was such, that he had no doubt but that in leaving this life he should enter into one more happy.

The next day his sister Elizabeth came to see him, and told him of the decease of their sister Ann; who

died a few days before. He said, I reckon sister Ann was free to leave this world? Elizabeth said, she was: he then said, I also am free to leave it; and being in great weakness of body, said, I hope I shall shortly go to rest. He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible until near the last.

On the 2d day of the ninth month, in the year 1751, feeling drawings in my mind to visit Friends at the Great Meadows, in the upper part of West Jersey, with the unity of our Monthly Meeting, I went there; and had some searching laborious exercise amongst Friends in those parts, and found peace therein.

In the ninth month of the year 1753, in company with my well-esteemed friend John Sykes, and with the unity of Friends, I travelled about two weeks, visiting Friends in Bucks County. We laboured in the love of the Gospel, according to the measure received; and, through the mercies of Him, who is strength to the poor who trust in him, we found satisfaction in our visit. In the next winter, way opening to visit Friends' families within the compass of our Monthly Meeting, partly by the labours of two Friends from Pennsylvania, I joined in some part of the work; having had a desire for some time that it might go forward amongst us.

About this time, a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves; and asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them as slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and as offending sober people was disagreeable to my inclination, I was straitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his testimony. I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not

right, and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind: that though many in our Society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it; and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord; and he made no reply to what I said, but went away: he also had some concern in the practice; and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had a fresh confirmation, that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a motive of Divine love, and in regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurring the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure better than silver, and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

The manuscript before mentioned having laid by me several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me; and this year I offered it to the revisal of Friends, who, having examined and made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be published and dispersed amongst Friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to Friends' families belonging to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting; and having the approbation of our own, I went to their Monthly Meeting in order to confer with Friends, and see if way opened for it. I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one Friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness. I kept my distress secret; and going with a Friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction; and in the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, being

very low in my mind: and as mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before him, he was pleased graciously to afford help; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service, part of which time was employed near home. In the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend John Sykes; and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that through the goodness of the Lord, our hearts were, at times, enlarged in his love; and strength was given to go through the trials, which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent; and an epistle to Friends went forth from our General Spring meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

An Epistle from our General Spring meeting of ministers and elders, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the 29th of the third month, to the 1st of the fourth month, inclusive, 1755: To Friends on the continent of America.

Dear Friends,

In an humble sense of Divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly salute you; and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the Truth, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that Life which is the Light of men, and be strengthened to hold fast the

profession of our faith without wavering, that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers."

We, being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven, have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him the Most High, whose tender love to his children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to his seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." And as we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on "not by *earthly* might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts;" by which operation, that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand forever; in a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, stability and peace there is in it, we are desirous that all who profess the Truth, may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession. And we trust, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," to the completion of those prophecies already begun,

that "nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, nor learn war any more."

And, dearly beloved friends, seeing we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly possessions or enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that resignation, and entire trust in God, to which his blessing is most surely annexed; then may we say, "Our Redeemer is mighty, he will plead our cause for us." And if, for the further promoting of his most gracious purposes in the earth, he should give us to taste of that bitter cup which his faithful ones have often partaken of; O that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat; "but repose ourselves in the munition of that Rock, that all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world: for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the Truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made partakers of the spirit of it; and as many as do partake of it, will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the Truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, shal-

rejoice in the midst of adversity," and have to experience with the prophet, that "Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stall: yet will they rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of their salvation."

If, contrary to this, we profess the Truth, and not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves therein, our confidence will be vain. For He, who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reason of the wild grapes it produced, Isaiah v, 5, remains unchangeable: and if, for the chastisement of wickedness, and further promoting his own glory, he doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose him, and prosper!

We remain, in the love of the Gospel, your friends and brethren.

Signed by fourteen Friends.

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves, having been a means of sundry small trials to me, in which I have evidently felt my own will set aside, I think it good to mention a few of them. Tradesmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their business for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under a necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and more especially of such who have a fair reputation. Deep rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of every

one to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motives than the negro's good; but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness, necessary rightly to exercise such power. Hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn, in which some children are made absolute masters over others during life.

About this time, an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood, came to my house to get his will written. He had young negroes; and I asked him privately, how he purposed to dispose of them? he told me: I then said, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace, and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have written it; but as I could not, consistent with my conscience, he did not desire it: and so he got it written by some other person. A few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will: his negroes were yet young, and his son, to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine, become a sober young man; and he supposed that I would be free, on that account, to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it: a few days after, he came again and directed their freedom; and so I wrote his will.

Near the time the last-mentioned Friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body, and sent for me to bleed him; which being done, he desired me to write his will. I took notes; and amongst other

things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end; so I wrote his will, save only that part concerning his slave, and carrying it to his bedside, read it to him; and then told him in a friendly way, that I could not write any instrument by which my fellow-creatures were made slaves, without bringing trouble on my mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done; and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed: we then had a serious conference on the subject; and at length, he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to visit Friends on Long Island, after obtaining a certificate from our Monthly Meeting, I set off on the 12th day of the fifth month, in the year 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of my dear friend Richard Hallet. Next day being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Newtown; in which we experienced the renewed manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ, to the comfort of the honest-hearted. I went that night to Flushing; and the next day, in company with my beloved friend Matthew Franklin, we crossed the ferry at White-stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the island, where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in those parts, who are honestly inclined to serve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward, bearing the cross, in such faithfulness as he calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in

public and private; and at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that subject; expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion, and the ill effects of it, manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week, their Yearly Meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarborough, Jane Hoskins and Susannah Brown, from Pennsylvania: the public meetings were large, and measurably favoured with Divine goodness.

The exercise of my mind at this meeting, was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the Society: and in a meeting of ministers and elders, way opened, so that I expressed in some measure what lay upon me; and at a time when Friends were met for transacting the affairs of the church, having sat awhile silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and through the gracious regard of our heavenly Father, strength was given fully to clear myself of a burthen, which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for his service. The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so reverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and in the weakness of nature, thought of desisting from his prophetic office; but, saith he, "His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay." I saw at this time, that if I was honest in declaring that which Truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagree-

able to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of Divine love was manifested; in an humbling sense whereof I went home: having been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.

While on this journey, my heart was much affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces; and believing the Lord was calling me to some further labour amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before him, with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, besides following my trade as a tailor; about which time I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens; and at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the road to large business appeared open; but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living: I had but a small family; and on serious consideration, I believed Truth did not require me to engage in many cumbering affairs. It had been my general practice to buy and sell things really useful; things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did, I found it to weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burthen; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandizing, yet I believed Truth required me to live more free from

outward cumber; and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. In this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to his holy will: then I lessened my business; and as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to: and in awhile, wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade as a tailor, myself only, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple trees; in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming and inoculating. In merchandize it is the custom, where I lived, to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt; and when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having often observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful and not costly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of seeing that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors, and the custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniences; and these two things appear to be often connected one with the other. By not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour, which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us; by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is, even among such who are not drunkards, a craving of some liquors to revive the spirits: that, partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, led to it through immoderate labour, very great quantities of rum are every year expended in our colo-

ries; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

Where men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members in a family or in civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied; and where such whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw to the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows; this also, as it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers, is a case to be lamented.

As every degree of luxury hath some connexion with evil; for those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them, which was also in Christ, and so stand separate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat, and taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience, that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for Divine meditation, as when all such extremes are avoided; and I have felt an increasing care to attend to that holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires, and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did such who have the care of great estates, attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructer, which so opens and enlarges the mind, that men love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage, without finding occasion to employ some

people in the luxuries of life, or to make it necessary for others to labour too hard; but for want of steadily regarding this principle of Divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ; yet, through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe; "Seekest thou great things for thy self? seek them not."

In the winter, this year, I was engaged with Friends in visiting families; and through the goodness of the Lord, we had oftentimes experience of his heart-tendering presence amongst us.

A copy of a letter written to a Friend.

In this thy late affliction I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee; and had a secret hope throughout, that it might please the Father of mercies to raise thee up, and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish, may feel the clothing of Divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting Truth.

We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy, find an impossibility to advance; but things impossible with men are possible with God; and our wills being made subject to his, all temptations are surmountable.

This work of subjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace; which, through fervent heat, is

redu:ed from its first principle: "He refines them as silver is refined—He shall sit as a refiner, and purifier of silver." By these comparisons, we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore him, and to manifest that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that spirit, in all its workings, which is not of him. To forward this work, the all-wise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death, that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction, which otherwise would not be received. If kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then He, who is perfect goodness, in sending abroad mortal contagions, doth assuredly direct their use. Are the righteous removed by it, their change is happy; are the wicked taken away in their wickedness, the Almighty is clear. Do we pass through with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover, he intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now on thy part, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again restored; forget not Him who hath helped thee, but in humble gratitude hold fast his instructions, thereby to shun those by-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company, to which one in thy business must be exposed: I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can sympathize with others in such conflicts, in that much weakness still attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and com

mit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the simplicity of Truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a snare; by halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd, so that when we look at the way of the righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love clothes my mind while I write, which is superior to all expressions; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation, to advance in Christian firmness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark; and as we enter into it, we find safety and true exaltation: the foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the abasement of the creature, therein we find that power to arise, which gives health and vigour to us.

CHAPTER IV.

His visiting the families of Friends at Burlington—His journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina—Considerations on the state of Friends there, and the exercise he was under in travelling among those concerned in keeping slaves: with some observations on this subject—His epistle to Friends at New Garden and Cane creek—His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes.

THE 13th day of the second month, in the year 1757, being then in good health, and abroad with Friends visit-

ing families, I lodged at a Friend's house in Burlington; and going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord; in a sense whereof my heart was contrite. After this, I went to sleep again; and sleeping a short time, I awoke; it was yet dark, and no appearance of day or moonshine; and as I opened mine eyes, I saw a light in my chamber at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear easy brightness, and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still without any surprise looking upon it, words were spoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward man: they were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoken in my mind; the words were, CERTAIN EVIDENCE OF DIVINE TRUTH; and were again repeated exactly in the same manner; whereupon the light disappeared.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the southern provinces increase upon me, I acquainted our Monthly Meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate. Expecting to go alone, one of my brothers, who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion seemed some difficulty with me. I had conversation with him at sundry times, and at length, feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject; and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the fifth month of the year 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, we lodged at John Churchman's, and here I met with our friend Benjamin Buffington, from

New England, who was returning from a visit to the southern provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehanna, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland; and soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, of which I had often had some feeling since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions.

As the people in this and the southern provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was, that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, which to me appeared to be the gain of oppression.

Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that Divine prohibition; "Thou shalt not receive any gift: for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous." As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the Gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: The entertainment the disciples met with, was from such whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them, and the

truth they published. But we, considered as members of the same religious Society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some Friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low; and such were the conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight;" but I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the Divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty, for his gracious and fatherly assistance; and then, after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist, more clearly than ever I had before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child." Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of Society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it would obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me. And

as I copy this after my return, I may add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus; when I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired him to accept of some pieces of silver, and give them to such of the negroes as he believed would make the best use of them; and at other times I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. As I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces; and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them: but the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some talk, accepted of them.

The 7th day of the fifth month, in the year 1757, I lodged at a Friend's house; and the next day being the first of the week, was at Patapsco meeting; then crossed Patuxent river, and lodged at a public house.

On the 9th breakfasted at a Friend's house, who putting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves; in which my heart was tender, and I used much plainness of speech with him, which he appeared to take kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me. On the 11th day of the fifth month, we crossed the rivers Potomac

and Rappahannock, and lodged at Port Royal: and on the way happening in company with a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occasion to remark on the difference in general between a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life: with which he concurred, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes; adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied, that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation, I said that men having power, too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally; which he did not deny; but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there. I only said there is great odds in regard to us, on what principle we act; and so the conversation on that subject ended. I may here add, that another person, some time afterward, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves; to which I then replied, if compassion on the Africans, in regard to their domestic troubles, were the real motives of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended

to, would incite us to use them kindly, that as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us; and as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein. But while we manifest by our conduct, that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves; and while our buying captives taken in war, animates those parties to push on that war, and increase desolation amongst them; to say they live unhappily in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favour. I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burthensome stone to such who burthen themselves with them, and that if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burthen will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us. At this the person appeared very serious, and owned, that in considering their condition, and the manner of their treatment in these provinces, he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar creek in Virginia, on the 12th day of the fifth month; and the next day rode, in company with several Friends, a day's journey to Camp creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the want of Divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me; and in an uncommon distress of mind, I cried in secret to the Most High, Oh, Lord! be merciful, I be

seech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature. After some time, I felt inward relief; and soon after, a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark God set upon him after he murdered Abel, his brother, and that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which, I replied in substance as follows: Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said, that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod, and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations; and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose they were spared: as to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family, before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith, "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth." I further reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declare, "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father; but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations; and in some pressure of spirit said, the love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak

arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the Truth; and as I believe liberty is their right, and see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He, who is a refuge for the oppressed, will in his own time plead their cause; and happy will it be for such, who walk in uprightness before him: thus our conversation ended.

On the 14th day of the fifth month I was at Camp creek Monthly Meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James river, and had a meeting at a Friend's house; in both of which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongst Friends in those places. From thence I went to Fork creek, and so to Cedar creek again; at which place I now had a meeting. Here I found a tender seed; and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the Truth, the same Truth in their hearts answered it, so that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Stanley's, father of William Stanley, one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer, on account of their testimony against fighting; and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp and Wainoak meetings; and then crossed James river, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me, that my mind was almost overwhelmed; and I may say with the psalmist, "in my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God;" who, in infinite good-

ness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief; for which I humbly bless his holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches, brought a weight of distress upon me; the gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed: and though this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath, in a particular manner, borne heavily upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to inward desolation; and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed. From small beginnings in error, great buildings by degrees, are raised, and from one age to another are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people. As men obtain reputation by their profession of the Truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say, such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah rise to such a height in wickedness, as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, "that none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth:" or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem, just before the Babylonish captivity, "If ye can find a man, if there be any who executeth judgment, that seeketh the Truth, and I will pardon it." The prospect of a road lying open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this newly settled land of America, in respect to our conduct toward the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and though to relate briefly how

hese people are treated is no agreeable work, yet after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them. Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages, that with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder; which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. Many whose labour is heavy, being followed at their business in the field, by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else allowed but one peck of Indian corn and some salt for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labour on the first day of the week.

The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarcely clothes enough to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked amongst their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the Society called New Lights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life: these are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of: these are the souls for whom Christ died, and for our conduct toward them, we must answer before Him who is no respecter of persons.

They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ

whom he hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, Gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty; and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people, will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet resigned state; and after a long silence, I felt an engagement to stand up; and through the powerful operation of Divine love, we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black Water; and so to the Yearly Meeting at the Western Branch. When its business began, some queries were considered by some of their members, to be now produced; and if approved, to be answered hereafter by their respective Monthly Meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia Yearly Meeting, appointed last year, who made some alterations in them; one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me. The query was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them after imported?" which they altered thus: "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say, that as we professed the Truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned the alteration; and referring to the last-mentioned query, added, as purchasing any merchandize taken by the sword, was always allowed

to be inconsistent with our principles, negroes being captives of war, or taken by stealth, those circumstances make it inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow-creatures, who are sold as slaves, adds greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was said; some expressed a care and concern about their negroes; none made any objection, by way of reply to what I said; but the query was admitted as they had altered it. As some of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandize, this query, being admitted, will be one step further than they have hitherto gone. I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration; but felt easy to leave it all to Him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and to make way for the spreading of Truth on the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wisdom. But in regard to those they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them; and said, that, as we believe the Scriptures were given forth by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our children to read them; I believe that if we were divested of all selfish views, the same good Spirit that gave them forth, would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them: there were some amongst them who, at this time, manifested a concern in regard to taking more care in the education of their negroes.

On the 29th day of the fifth month, at the house where I lodged, was a meeting of ministers and elders, at the ninth hour in the morning; at which time I found an engagement to speak freely and plainly to them concerning

their slaves; mentioning how they, as the first rank in the Society, whose conduct in that case was much noticed by others, were under the stronger obligations to look carefully to themselves: expressing how needful it was for them, in that situation, to be thoroughly divested of all selfish views; that living in the pure Truth, and acting conscientiously toward those people in their education and otherwise, they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so exceedingly necessary, and so much neglected amongst them. At the twelfth hour the meeting for worship began, which was solid.

On the 30th day, about the tenth hour, Friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship ensued, which to me was a laborious time; but through the goodness of the Lord, Truth, I believe, gained some ground; and it was a strengthening opportunity to the honest-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to Friends in the back settlements of North Carolina, as follows:

To Friends at their Monthly Meeting at New Garden and Cane creek, in North Carolina.

Dear Friends,

It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of Truth. First, my dear Friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward

things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits and seeking the friendships of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace, such walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting: their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treasures, thus collected, do many times prove dangerous snares to their children.

But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of his holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through a Divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants around about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others; and in this condition, through the spreading influence of Divine love, they feel a care over the flock; and way is opened for maintaining good order in the Society. And though we meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness, will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth come fresh in my way.—Dear young people, choose God for your portion; love his Truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such who serve him in uprightness; and shun, as most dangerous, the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill savour; for by frequenting such company, some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we

partake of, in fully resigning ourselves to the Divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and as your minds are thus seasoned with the Truth, you will find strength to abide steadfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech you, in the love of Jesus Christ, wisely to consider the force of your examples, and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country, yea, a great favour and a blessing, when customs first settled, are agreeable to sound wisdom; so when they are otherwise, the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of true wisdom, is useful both to mind and body; so by this means in general, the real wants of life are easily supplied; our gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other, that, keeping in the true medium, we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them; which affects the family, and such who claim the mastery over them: and thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there are a large number of Friends in your parts, who have no slaves; and in tender

and most affectionate love, I beseech you to keep clear from purchasing any. Look, my dear friends, to Divine Providence; and follow in simplicity that exercise of body, that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such who are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on the true principle of virtue, are sweet in the possession; and while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and satisfaction. Here, neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor the throbbings of an uneasy conscience, nor anxious thoughts about the event of things, hinder the enjoyment of life.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors, if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before him, we may consider it as his gift to us; and with a single eye to his blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain way of true virtue. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us; for he is a strong hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in him.

Isle of Wight county, in Virginia,
29th of the fifth month, 1757.

From the Yearly Meeting in Virginia, I went to Carolina; and on the 1st day of the sixth month, was at

Wells Monthly Meeting, where the spring of the Gospel ministry was opened, and the love of Jesus Christ experienced amongst us: to his name be the praise.

Here my brother joined with some Friends from New Garden, who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons creek Monthly Meeting, where I was silent during the meeting for worship. When business came on, my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves; but I did not feel my way clear to speak: in this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward supplication besought him, so to open my understanding, that I might know his will concerning me; and at length, my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business, a member of the meeting expressed a concern, that had some time lain upon him, on account of Friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves, and proposed having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be only attended by some Friends to be named in their Monthly Meetings. Many present appeared to unite with the proposal: one said he had often wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures and capable of religious understanding, had been so exceedingly neglected: another expressed the like concern, and appeared zealous that Friends in future, might more closely consider it: at length a minute was made; and the further consideration of it referred to their next Monthly Meeting. The Friend who made this proposal has negroes: he told me that he was at New Garden; about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; and that in this solitary journey, this exercise in regard to the education of their negroes, was, from time to time, renewed in his mind. A Friend of some note in Virginia, who has slaves, told

me, that he being far from home on a lonesome journey, had many serious thoughts about them; and that his mind was so impressed therewith, that he believed he saw a time coming, when Divine Providence would alter the circumstances of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to Newbegun creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness; then I felt Truth open the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, till, at length, through the increase of Divine love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. From thence I went to the head of Little river, where was, on a first-day, a crowded meeting; and I believe, through Divine goodness, it was made profitable to some.—Thence to the Old Neck; where I was led into a careful searching out the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit, which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. From thence to Piney-woods; which was the last meeting I was at in Carolina, and was large; and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth in fervent labour amongst them.

When I was at Newbegun creek, a Friend was there who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and had been a minister many years. He came to me the next day, and as we rode together, signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, and related it nearly as follows: to wit, That as moneys had been raised by a tax of late years to carry on war, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and chose rather to suffer distraint of his goods than pay it; and as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the

like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy trial to him, and more so, for that some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case. He added, that from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of query concerning Friends in our parts. I told him the state of Friends amongst us, as well as I was able; and also, that I had for some time been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord; and esteemed it my duty to preserve this note concerning him; his name was Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward suffering; but through the goodness of the Lord, I was made content: then to another meeting; where, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable season.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord and contented with his will concerning me, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by humble resignation, is united to him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and require close attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we may be led may tend to our own abasement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

From thence I went to Curles meeting; which, though

small, was reviving to the honest-hearted. Thence to Black creek and Caroline meetings; from whence, accompanied by William Stanley, before mentioned, we rode to Goose creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night at a public house; the second in the woods; and the next day we reached a Friend's house, at Goose creek. In the woods we lay under some disadvantage, having no fire-works nor bells for our horses; but we stopped a little before night, and let them feed on the wild grass which was plenty; in the mean time cutting with our knives a store against night, and then tied them; and gathering some bushes under an oak, we lay down; but the mosquitoes being plenty and the ground damp, I slept but little. Lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate the condition of our first parents, when they were sent forth from the garden; but the Almighty, though they had been disobedient, continued to be a Father to them, and showed them what tended to their felicity as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom is good; and the gift of improving in things useful, is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift; and from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world: but some not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and self-exaltation, sought out many inventions; which inventions of men, distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, as the first motion to them was evil, so the effects have been and are evil. At this day, it is as necessary for us constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this

life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Goose creek; and next at a Monthly Meeting at Fairfax; where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Manoquacy and Pipe creek, in Maryland; at both which places I had cause humbly to adore Him, who supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others: there were some hopeful young people in those parts. I had meetings at John Everit's in Monallen, and at Huntingdon; and was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest-minded.

At Monallen, a Friend gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonists; and amongst other things, related a passage in substance as follows:—One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his wagon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him; but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Mennonist, told him of it; adding, he should have been heartily welcome at his house; and from their acquaintance in former time, he wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonist replied, ever since I lodged by thy field, I have

wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. I intended to come to thy house for entertainment, but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee: he then admonished him to use them with more humanity, and added, as I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance, thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they.

From hence I was at three meetings in my way, and so went home, under an humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me through many trials and afflictions in my journey. I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

CHAPTER V.

Considerations on the payment of a tax laid for carrying on the war against the Indians—Some notes on Thomas à Kempis and John Huss—Meetings of the committee of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia—The present circumstances of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey very different from those of our predecessors—The drafting of the militia in New Jersey to serve in the army, with some observations on the state of the members of our Society at that time—His visit to Friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones—Proceedings at the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves.

A FEW years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again

by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told, that Friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conversation with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of whom I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the deeps of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men, who paid such taxes; but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believed that the Spirit of Truth required of me, as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit; as fully so, as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that church.

All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse; Jesus Christ appointing to each one their peculiar office, agreeably to his infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors crept into the church, in opposition to the council of Constance; which the historian reports to have consisted of some thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct toward his judges appear to have been respectful,

yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words; "This I most humbly require and desire of you all, even for his sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against."—And again, in his answer to the emperor: "I refuse nothing, most noble emperor, whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 233. At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and the inward spiritual religion: and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ.

True charity is an excellent virtue: and to labour sincerely for their good, whose belief, in all points, do not agree with ours, is a happy state. To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid, was exceedingly disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and in my distress, I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresover he was pleased to lead me. Under this exercise I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, in the year 1755; at which a committee was appointed of some from each quarter, to correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings in London; and another to visit our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings; and after their appoint-

ment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed that these two committees should meet together in Friends' school-house in the city, at a time then concluded on, to consider some things in which the cause of Truth was concerned. These committees meeting together, had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time, I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before-mentioned.*

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application, hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against war, in their time; I may here note some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful Friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world; and suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age, to take heed to their own spirit; and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me that there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than there is of us now. They had little or no share in civil government; and many of them declared, they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of Truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little

* Christians refused to pay taxes to support Heathen temples. See Primitive Christianity, part III, page 327.

or no troubles of that sort. Their profession for a time, was accounted reproachful; but at length, the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated; and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and sciences, amongst which are many things useful, being followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe will not be denied. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars. Such being in doubt whether to act, or crave to be excused from their office, seeing their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, might think their case not much different, and so quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds; and thus, by small degrees, there might be an approach toward fighting, until we came so near it, as that the distinction would be little else but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded, if by our fighting, there was a probability of overcoming the invaders.—Whoever rightly attains to it, does, in some degree, feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us; and through Divine goodness, many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson. But many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross

which crucifies to the world, manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, a day being appointed and letters written to distant members, the said committees met at Philadelphia; and by adjournments, continued several days. The calamities of war were now increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some slain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a wagon, and taken through the streets of the city, in his bloody garments, to alarm the people, and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which, to such who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time, might be construed into an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England. Still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends, that nothing moved it: it was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments withdrew, others of them continued till the last. At length, an epistle of tender love and caution to Friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn by some Friends concerned, on that subject; and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such of them as were free to

sign it, and afterwards sent to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

On the 9th day of the eighth month, in the year 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington,) directing them to draft the militia and prepare a number of men to go as soldiers, to the relief of the English at fort William Henry, in New York government. A few days after, there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draft three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came; and on the 17th day of the eighth month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on a draft, and orders were sent to the men so chosen, to meet their respective captains at set times and places; those in our township to meet at Mount Holly; amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience, is a painful task, and likely to be avoided as much as easily may be. But where men profess to be so meek and heavenly minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot join in wars; and yet, by their spirit and conduct in common life, manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

Officers, who, in great anxiety, are endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors, seeing men who are insincere, pretend a scruple of conscience, in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, are likely to handle them roughly. In this time of commotion some of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; some came and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near. I had conversation with several of these to my satisfaction. At the set time when the captain came to town, some of those last-mentioned went and told him in substance as follows:—That they could not bear arms for conscience-sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event of it: at length the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, and required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and to be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed this trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with resignation to him. The French army taking the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away: the company of men first drafted, after some days march, had orders to return home; and those on the second draft, were no more called upon on that occasion.

On the 4th day of the fourth month, in the year 1758, orders came to some officers in Mount Holly, to prepare quarters a short time, for about one hundred soldiers: an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house; and the officer told me that he came

to speak with me, to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly; but sat a time silent, my mind being turned inward. I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time, I said to the officer, if the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house; but the nature of the case is such, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire: one of the men intimated, that he thought I might do it consistently with my religious principles; to which I made no reply, believing silence, at that time, best for me. Though they spoke of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly; and when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spoke to me; and as I turned from him, he said, he was obliged to me: to which I said nothing; but thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening in company with a Friend, to visit a sick person; and before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who, of late, had been disconsolate several days, occasioned by a dream, wherein death and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her

mind in a moving manner. Her sadness on that account being worn off, the Friend with whom I was in company, went to see her, and had some religious conversation with her and her husband: with this visit they were somewhat affected; and the man, with many tears expressed his satisfaction: and in a short time after, the poor man being on the river in a storm of wind, he with one more was drowned.

In the eighth month of the year 1758, having had drawings in my mind to be at the Quarterly Meeting in Chester county, and at some meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went first to the said Quarterly Meeting, which was large; and several weighty matters came under consideration and debate; and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of his servants with strength and firmness, to bear the burthen of the day. Though I said but little, my mind was deeply exercised; and under a sense of God's love, in anointing and fitting some young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before him. From hence I went to the Youths' meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother Benjamin Jones met me, by an appointment before I left home, to join in the visit. We were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth and Abington meetings; and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some Friends, who this summer, 1758, had bought negro slaves; the said meeting moved it to their Quarterly Meeting, to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting, which was

made last on that subject. The said Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to consider it, and report to their next; which committee having met once and adjourned, and I going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in town the evening on which the Quarterly Meeting's committee met the second time; and finding an inclination to sit with them, was with some others admitted; and Friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next Quarterly Meeting, I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting; which brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased to strengthen me; that setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his holy will.

In this Yearly Meeting several weighty matters were considered; and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer; and I could say with David, "that tears were my meat day and night." The case of slave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. When this case was opened, several faithful Friends spoke weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance, as follows:

"In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of Truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire, that in this weighty

matter, we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of Truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the Society than any medium not in the clearness of Divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have slaves; but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together, when Truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that they will know how to steer through those difficulties."

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of Truth and universal righteousness on the earth. Though none openly justified the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned, lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren; alleging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of these people. Finding an engagement to speak, I said, "My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases, where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness, he hath opened our understandings from one time to another, concerning our duty toward this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and

through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, it may be that God may answer us, in this matter, by terrible things in righteousness."

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness; and the love of Truth, in a good degree, prevailed. Several Friends who had negroes, expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was answered, that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at, until a thorough search was made into the circumstances of such Friends who kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several Friends expressed their desire, that a visit might be made to such as kept slaves; and many Friends said that they believed liberty was the negroes right; to which, at length, no opposition was made publicly. A minute was made on that subject, more full than any heretofore; and the names of several Friends entered, who were free to join in a visit to such who kept slaves

CHAPTER VI.

His visiting the Quarterly Meetings in Chester county; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in a visit to such as kept slaves there—Some observations on the conduct those should maintain who are concerned to speak in meetings for discipline—Several visits to such who kept slaves: and to Friends near Salem—Some account of the Yearly Meeting in the year 1759; and of the increasing concern, in divers provinces, to labour against buying and keeping slaves—The yearly Meeting epistle—His thoughts on the smallpox spreading—and on inoculation.

On the 11th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, I set out for Concord; the Quarterly Meeting heretofore held there, was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of Friends, at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joseph White from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious visit to Friends in England; and through Divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in visiting Friends who had slaves; and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour; and thence to the burial of the corpse of a Friend at Uwchland meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of Divine favour; after which, we visited some who had slaves; and at night had a family meeting at a Friend's

house, where the channel of Gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen Monthly Meeting: and thence on the 18th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, attended the Quarterly Meeting at London Grove, it being the first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned Friends, and had some edifying meetings. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of Truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under to attend principally to his business, as he is pleased to open it to us; and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; to have our outward affairs in as little room as may be; that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of Truth, in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness amongst the children of men, in these days of calamity and distress; wherein God is visiting our land with his just judgments.

Each of these Quarterly Meetings were large, and sat nearly eight hours. Here I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business. Except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid.

If selfish views or a partial spirit have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, it behoves us to avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from afar,

and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; especially when it has sat six or seven hours, and Friends have a great distance to ride home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month of the year 1758, I joined my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such who had slaves: some whose hearts were rightly exercised about them, appeared to be glad of our visit; but in some places our way was more difficult; and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded; and have cause, in reverent thankfulness, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me, toward some who were grievously entangled by the spirit of this world.

In the first month of the year 1759, having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our Society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by an agreement; and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some that were sick, and some widows and their families; and and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such who had slaves. It was a time of deep exercise, looking often to the Lord for his assistance; who, in unspeakable kindness, favoured us with the influence of that spirit, which crucifies to the greatness and splendour of this world, and enabled us to go through some heavy labours, in which we found peace.

On the 24th day of the third month, of this year, I was at our general spring meeting of Philadelphia; after which I again joined with John Churchman on a visit to some Friends who had slaves, in Philadelphia; and with thank-

fulness to our heavenly Father, I may say that Divine love and a true sympathizing tenderness of heart, prevailed at times in this service.

Having, at times, perceived a shyness in some Friends of considerable note, towards me, I found an engagement in Gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go. I went and told him in private, that I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone; to which he readily agreed: and then in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom; and we had a large conference, which, I believe, was of use to both of us; and am thankful that way was opened for it.

On the 14th day of the sixth month, in the same year, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our Monthly Meeting therein, I attended their Quarterly Meeting, and was out seven days, and at seven meetings; in some of which I was chiefly silent, and in others, through the baptizing power of Truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellowship with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

In the seventh month, I found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our Society who had slaves; and having no opportunity of the company of such who were named on the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, I went alone to their houses, and in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under: and thus, sometimes by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden.

After this, our friend John Churchman coming into

our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves, I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting in the year 1759, we had some weighty seasons, where the power of Truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As Friends read over the epistles to be sent to the Yearly Meetings on this continent, I observed in most of them, both this year and last, that it was recommended to Friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves; and in some of them closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account, and at times, in some meetings, been almost alone therein, observing now the increasing concern in our religious Society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of Truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness before him. This meeting continued nearly a week; and for several days, in the forepart of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward stillness; and being at times covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business way opened, that in the pure flowings of Divine love, I expressed what lay upon me; which, as it then arose in my mind, was "first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright; though in their different growths they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. I was led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus;

and yet, in some points, held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold; and that in all ages where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with him; and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all superfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us. If such who were at times under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity, it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct." In this exercise I was drawn into a sympathizing tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world; and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord toward his poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting, which I think good to give a place in this journal; being as follows:

"From the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 22nd day of the ninth month, to the 28th day of the same, inclusive, 1759.

"*To the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends belonging to the said Yearly Meeting.*

"Dearly beloved friends and brethren.

"In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of

the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have long been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires, that we may reverently regard the dispensations of his providence, and improve under them.

"The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh; and deals with his people agreeably to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We in these provinces, may say he hath, as a gracious and tender Parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was he who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influences of his holy Spirit, that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives, and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion; and thereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

"If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gave us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in

which the glad tidings of the Gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the psalmist, 'What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits?'

"Our own real good, and the good of our posterity in some measure depend on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to his service and engage fervently in his cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature. We shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, 'it is righteousness which exalteth a nation;' and though he doth not at all times suddenly execute his judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see by many instances, that where 'men follow lying vanities, they forsake their own mercies.' As a proud selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy and confusion increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, 'Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts.'

"The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice, doth now mercifully call upon us to serve him more faithfully.

We may truly say with the prophet, 'it is his voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see his name: They regard the rod, and him who hath appointed it.'— People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but such who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, they see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading among the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in his visitations to us, instead of calling, lifteth up his voice and crieth; he crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but of late they have reached our borders. Many of our fellow-subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields; some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women, who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief. It is not long since it was the case of many young men in one of these provinces to be drafted, in order to be taken as soldiers. Some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the Truth's sake is experienced. Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that

time of trial were led to consider, that their care to get outward treasure for them, had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

"Let us not forget that 'the Most High hath his way in the deep, in clouds and in thick darkness'—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and oh! that these loud and awakening cries, may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may for a short time afford a pleasing prospect; yet while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness, which ever continues; if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being, whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal and whose anger is now kindled, because of our backslidings; let us then awfully regard these beginnings of his sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to him whom we have offended.

"Contending with one equal in strength, is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord becomes our enemy, if we persist to contend with him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

"Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity; and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds in things outward, look beyond our own dissolu-

tion, and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then like wise builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our constant uniform regard to inward piety and virtue, let them see that we really value it. Let us labour in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruption; that as they advance in age, they may rightly understand their true interests, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being who inhabits eternity, and preserves and supports the world.

"In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind, that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares that may grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation, which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness; and renders those enemies to the cross of Christ, who submit to the influence of it.

"To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling-places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for 'here we have no continuing city;' may we therefore diligently 'seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God'

"'Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, what-

soever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you.'

"Signed by appointment, and on behalf of our said meeting, by seven Friends."

On the 28th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1759, I was at the Quarterly Meeting in Bucks county. This day being the meeting of ministers and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ; and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation at my lodging, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn; who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that county who had negroes; and as I had felt a draught in my mind to that work in the said county, I came home and put things in order. On the 11th day of the twelfth month following, I went over the river; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this visit appeared weighty; and before I left home my mind was often sad; under which exercise I felt at times, the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities; through which, in private, my prayers were at times put up to God, that he would please to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members throughout the county who had negroes; and through

the goodness of the Lord, my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England; had also a family sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company, and was at Makefield on a first-day; at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to renew his loving kindness to us, his poor servants, uniting us together in his work.

In the winter of this year, the smallpox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of which a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follow:

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us. I have looked on the smallpox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we employ our time in such things only as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness.

Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are duties incumbent on us: and under these general heads, are many branches of business, in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, it incites me to think, whether this business is a real indispensable duty; whether it is not in conformity to some custom which would be better

laid aside; or whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding, and a regard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves; to be brought to a sense of it, and stopped in my pursuit, is a kindness; for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found by experience, that it tends to weakness.

If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think, whether my manner of life in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger, in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort, and in no other degree, than was designed by Him who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ? Or do I sit too much idle, while some persons who labour to support me, have too great a share of it? If in any of these things I am deficient, to be incited to consider it, is a favour to me.

Employment is necessary in social life; and this infection which often proves mortal, incites me to think, whether these social acts of mine are real duties: if I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any selfish views? If I go to a religious meeting, it puts me on thinking, whether I go in sincerity and a clear sense of duty; or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people; and whether to support my reputation as a religious man, has no share in it.

Do affairs relating to civil society, call me near thir infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life; and it becomes me to think seriously, whether love to Truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable; or whether ought of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names or distinctions among men, stains the beauty of those assemblies, and renders it doubtful in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not.

Whenever there are blemishes which remain for a series of time, that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities, to have health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that mean.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son, is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for his creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature; and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men:" chastisement is intended for instruction, and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented.

By an earthquake, hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, and multitudes of people perish suddenly; and many more being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged, merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, great numbers of people have perished in a short time, and many more been pressed with poverty and grief.

By the pestilence, people have died so fast in a city, that through fear, grief and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins.

By famine, great numbers of people, in some places, have been brought to the utmost distress, and pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus, where the kind invitations and gentle chastisements of a gracious God have not been attended to, his sore judgments have at times, been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society, and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of Truth and righteousness; while many, professing Truth, are declining from that ardent love and heavenly-mindedness, which were amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ, it is a time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears; but if we humbly meditate on his perfections, consider that he is perfect wisdom and goodness, and that to afflict his creatures to no purpose, would be utterly averse to his nature, we shall hear and understand his language, both in his gentle and more heavy chastisements; and take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape his hand by means too powerful for us.

Had he endowed men with understanding to hinder the force of this disease by innocent means, which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to our bodies, such dis covery might be considered as the period of chastise ment by this distemper, where that knowledge extended. But as life and health are his gifts, and not to be dis-

posed of in our own wills, to take upon us, when in health, a distemper of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge, that it is our duty to do so.

CHAPTER VII.

His visit in company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, &c., in New England—Remarks on the slave trade at Newport, and his exercise on that account; also on lotteries—Some observations on the Island of Nantucket.

HAVING for some time past felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our Monthly Meeting; and obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th day of the fourth month, in the year 1760, joining in company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway and Plainfield; and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragement; but through the invisible power of Truth, our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on and visited most of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern from day to day, to say no more nor less than what the Spirit of Truth opened in me, being jealous over myself, lest I should speak any thing to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people, which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low; and through

the subjecting power of Truth, we were kept low with it; and from place to place, such whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ, appeared to be comforted in our labours; and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet through His goodness, who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings and in families where we tarried; and sometimes found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families, or in the Society was such, that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed Truth. At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows:

"24th of the Fourth month, 1760.

"Dearly beloved wife,

"We are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey, and on this island: my mind hath been much in an inward watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our heavenly Father.

"As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, 'Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord.' As this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have considered that his internal presence on our minds, is a delight of all others the most pure; and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He who regards the helpless and distressed, reveals his love to his children under affliction, and they delight in beholding his benevolence, and feeling Divine charity moving upon

them. Of this I may speak a little; for though, since I left you, I have often found an engaging love and affection toward thee and my daughter, and friends about home, that going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in captivity; for whose sake my heart is at times moved with compassion, that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me; which, though small, compared with some, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I trust, cares for you; and under a sense of his heavenly love, remain

"Thy loving husband,
"J. W."

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, and to me it appeared dangerous; but my mind was at that time, turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to him: and as he was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time and all I had to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset; and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependence on him through deep exercises, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In

several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private concerning their slaves; and through Divine aid, I was favoured to give up thereto. Though, in this concern, I appear singular from many whose service in travelling I believe is greater than mine, I do not think hard of them for omitting it; nor do I repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him, who appoints to his servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, and had comfortable sittings with them; and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend.

The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; where the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength given to declare the word of life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey; but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in secret, that he would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully, in such way as he might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown and Taunton, in our way to Boston; where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of Truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard

labour with the disobedient, laying things closely home to such as were stout against the Truth; yet through the goodness of God, we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with them who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends in the nearness of true Gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston, and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there; and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston.—Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my companion and I considering it, expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully took our leave of him; we did this, believing the journey would be hard to him and his horse.

We visited the meetings in those parts, and were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the Society; and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport; where I understood that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our Society. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman from our parts, all ministers of the Gospel, of whose company I was glad.

At this time my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habbakuk, as thus expressed; "When I heard my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed; and was desirous that Friends might petition the legislature, to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves; for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to mul-

tiply troubles and bring distresses on the people in those parts, for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned.

But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning; and such was the exercise of my mind, that I thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly, then sitting in town. This exercise came upon me in the afternoon, on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and going to bed, I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned therein; and in the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly were likely to continue sitting; who told me, they were expected to be prorogued that day or the next.

As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived that the Assembly were likely to depart before the business was over; after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting. I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the legislature, if way opened; and being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting, to speak with those in authority, in cases relating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made; and afterward opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:

"I have been under a concern for some time, on account of the great number of slaves who are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of heaven without speaking to it. I have prepared an essay of a petition, if way open, to be presented to the legislature; and what I have to propose to this meeting is, that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read

in the meeting; if they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to consider whether to take any further notice of it as a meeting or not." After a short conference some friends went out, and looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read; which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal; and some signified, that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and to be signed out of meeting by such who were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first, that if it was done it would be in that way; yet such was the exercise of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled, appeared to me a duty. My heart yearned toward the inhabitants of these parts; believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and a way made easy for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility, which is a sure resting-place for the soul; and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to dispose of as they believed best. And now an exercise revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had moved it in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused, who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. On moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members; and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me, that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of sel-

fishness, which tended to confusion and darkness of understanding; and that pleading for it in our meetings, set apart for the Lord's work, was not right: and in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down, I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity; and after this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made; a copy of which was agreed to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, but was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. After some close exercise and hearty repentance that I had not attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up and reciting the passage, acquainted Friends that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us, after a warm debate.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there remained on my mind a secret, though heavy exercise in regard to some leading active members about Newport, being in the practice of slave-keeping. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those Friends: and thereupon, one of those country Friends and I, consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves; and he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me

I had had, near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, a private conference with this elder and his wife, concerning theirs; so that the way seemed clear to me, to advise with him about the manner of proceeding. I told him, I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private house; or if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the hearing of each other, I was free to spend some time among them, and visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and as I proposed a visit to ministers, elders and overseers only; he named some others, whom he desired might be present also. As a careful messenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses to open the matter to them; and did so.— About the eighth hour next morning, we met in the meeting-house chamber, and the last-mentioned country Friend, also my companion and John Storer, with us; when, after a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, opened the concern I was under, and we proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length feeling my mind released from the burthen which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease,

I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them; and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind, and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou, who sometimes travels in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, and seest many tokens of their satisfaction, in having thee for their guest; it is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people. If we believe Truth points towards a conference on some subjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have seen, that in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward interest, is hard labour; and sometimes when I have felt Truth lead toward it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship. As the sense thereof hath abased me, and my cries have been to the Lord, I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his sake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burthen of the word, in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, this tends to undermine the foundation of true unity.

The office of a minister of Christ is weighty; and they who now go forth as watchmen, had need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

After the Yearly Meeting we were at meetings at New

town, Acushnet, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, and several other Friends: the wind being slack, we only reached Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public house, and beds for a few of us, the rest sleeping on the floor. We went on board again about break of day; and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and about ten of us getting into our boat, we rowed to the harbour before dark; whereupon a large boat going off, brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days; the last of which was the Monthly Meeting for business. We had a laborious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart: the longer I was on the island, the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits, but as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friend's houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort.

My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day, if the weather was suitable and we well; and being called up the latter part of the night, we went on board a vessel, being in all about fifty; but the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered; so we returned on shore. Feeling clear as to

any further visits, I spent my time in our chamber chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my heavenly Father, for his help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women Friends, who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the Gospel. The next morning about break of day, going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the main before night; where our horses being brought, we proceeded towards Sandwich Quarterly Meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal, which encloses their harbour, prevents their going in with sloops, except when the tide is up. Waiting without this shoal for the rising of the tide, is sometimes hazardous in storms: waiting within, they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that on this small island was a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile; the timber so gone, that for vessels, fences and firewood, they depend chiefly on the buying from the main; to answer the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery. I considered that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were

more cleared, it would require more labour to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales being much hunted, and sometimes wounded and not killed, grew more shy and difficult to come at: I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays and rivers, the motion of the winds and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to his heavenly instruction, and put their trust in him, he provides for them in all parts, where he gives them a being. In this visit to these people, I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation; and besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women Friends, in their Monthly Meeting of business, many being present; and in the fresh spring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the disuse of all superfluities, reminding them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea; and that the more plain and simple their way of living was, the less need there would be of running great hazards to support them in it. I encouraged the young women in their neat decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmness of mind, than they have had who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves in it. As I observed they had few or no slaves amongst them, I had to encourage them to

be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations, which frequently attend the minds of people, who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a Monthly Meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were, in various ways exercised amongst them in Gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us; and were at times, overshadowed with the virtue of Truth, to the comfort of the sincere and the stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time; and reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly Meeting, we attended it; and after that had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labour in this town; and now in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found peace; and was in some degree comforted in a belief, that a good number remain in that place, who retain a sense of Truth; and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting in which Friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was select; and through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love, the hearts of the sincere were united together.

That poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried during the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me to be a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me. I was lead into deep search, whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God;

often querying with myself, what should be the cause of such inward poverty; and greatly desired that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the Divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind which prepared the way to some duties, that in more easy and prosperous times as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut and Warwick; and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer; and then, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly Meeting at Ryewoods; and through the gracious extendings of Divine help, had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We visited Friends at New York and Flushing; and thence to Rahway; and here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yoke-mate Samuel Eastburn; and reached home on the 10th day of the eighth month, 1760, where I found my family well: and for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments; and I find renewed desires to dwell and walk in resignedness before him.

CHAPTER VIII.

His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury and Squan—publishes the second part of his Considerations on keeping negroes—The grounds of his appearing in some respects singular in his dress—visits the families of Friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly meetings—visit to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the river Susquehanna.

HAVING felt my mind drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off. On the 10th day of the fifth month, 1761, being the first-day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting, concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and to come home or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there, through the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two Quarterly and three Monthly Meetings; and in the love of Truth, felt my way open to labour with some noted Friends who kept negroes; and as I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavoured to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein from time to time; and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

In the eighth month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends in and about Shrewsbury, I went there, and was at their Monthly Meeting, and the meeting on first-day; had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squankum; and as way opened, had conversation with some noted Friends concerning their slaves: and I returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of the Lord

From the care I had felt growing in me for some years, I wrote Considerations on keeping Negroes, part the second; which was printed during this year 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they offered to get a number printed, to be paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock, and to be given away; but I being most easy to publish them at my own expense, and offering my reasons they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious Society in general; amongst whom are some who keep negroes, and being inclined to continue them in slavery, are not likely to be satisfied with those books being spread amongst a people where many of the slaves are taught to read, and especially at their expense; and such receiving them as a gift, often conceal them. But as they who make a purchase, generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it best to sell them; expecting, by that means, they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements being signed by order of the overseers of the press, directed to be read in Monthly Meetings of business within our own Yearly Meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them; many were taken off in our parts; some I sent to Virginia, some to New York, and some to Newport, to my acquaintance there; and some I kept, expecting to give part of them away, where there appeared a prospect of service.

In my youth I was used to hard labour; and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure so much as many others. Being often weary, I was prepared to sympathize with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labour to

answer the demands of their creditors; and with others under oppression. In the uneasiness of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression which is imposed on many in the world. During the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart through the fresh visitations of heavenly love, being often tender; and my leisure time frequently spent in reading the life and doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the account of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our Society; a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that if such who have great estates, generally lived in that humility and plainness which belongs to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and moneys, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labour both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ; and divers branches of business which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which, at present, seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might in this way of pure wisdom be discontinued. As I have thus considered these things, a query at times hath arisen; Do I in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then there hath some degree of sadness at times come over me; because I accustomed myself to some things which occasioned more labour than I believe Divine wisdom intends for us.

From my early acquaintance with Truth, I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me, against the operation of the heavenly princi

ple; and in this circumstance have been affected with a sense of my own wretchedness, and in a mourning condition felt earnest longings for that Divine help, which brings the soul into true liberty. Sometimes in this state, retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me; and under a heavenly covering, I have asked my gracious Father to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of his wisdom; and in uttering language like this, the thoughts of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, have made lasting impressions on me.

In visiting people of note in the Society who had slaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the sight has affected me, that a conformity to some customs distinguishable from pure wisdom, has entangled many; and that the desire of gain to support these customs, greatly opposed the work of Truth. Sometimes when the prospect of the work before me has been such, that in bowedness of spirit I have been drawn into retired places, and besought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk; it has revived with strength of conviction, that if I would be his faithful servant, I must in all things attend to his wisdom, and be teachable; and cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used amongst religious people.

As he is the perfection of power, of wisdom and of goodness, so I believe he hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for men's support in this world, as would, being rightly divided, be a suitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into superfluities, or grasp after wealth in a way contrary to his wisdom, without having connexion with some degree of oppres

sion, and with that spirit which leads to self-exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries, by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced, and feeling an increasing desire to live in the spirit of peace; being often sorrowfully affected in thinking on the unquiet spirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miseries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein; some suddenly destroyed; some wounded, and after much pain remain cripples; some deprived of all their outward substance and reduced to want; and some carried into captivity—thinking often on these things, the use of hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, and wearing more clothes in summer than are useful, grew more uneasy to me; believing them to be customs which have not their foundation in pure wisdom. The apprehension of being singular from my beloved friends, was a strait upon me; and thus I remained in the use of some things contrary to my judgment.

On the 31st day of the fifth month, 1761, I was taken ill of a fever; and after having it near a week, I was in great distress of body. And one day there was a cry raised in me, that I might understand the cause why I was afflicted, and improve under it. My conformity to some customs which I believed were not right, was then brought to my remembrance; and in the continuation of the exercise, I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being; and was made thankful that he had taken hold of me by his chastisement. Feeling the necessity of further purifying, there was now no desire in me for health, until the design of my correction was answered; and thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit, and as I felt a sinking

down into a calm resignation, so I felt as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature; and from that time forward I grew better.

Though I was thus settled in mind in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt easy to wear my garments heretofore made; and so continued about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural colour of the fur; but the apprehension of being looked upon as one affecting singularity, felt uneasy to me. Here I had occasion to consider, that things though small in themselves, being clearly enjoined by Divine authority, became great things to us; and I trusted that the Lord would support me in the trials that might attend singularity, while that singularity was only for his sake. On this account I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our General Spring Meeting in 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed; and being deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, I was made willing to submit to what I apprehended was required of me; and when I returned home, got a hat of the natural colour of the fur.

In attending meetings this singularity was a trial upon me, and more especially at this time, white hats being used by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress; and as some Friends who knew not on what motives I wore it, carried shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the exercise of the ministry.—In this condition, my mind being turned toward my heavenly Father, with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings; and I felt inward consolation, which to me was very precious under those difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use, which I be-

lieved it best to wear till I had occasion for new ones.— Some Friends were apprehensive that my wearing such a hat savoured of an affected singularity; and such who spoke with me in a friendly way, I generally informed in a few words, that I believed my wearing it was not in my own will. I had at times been sensible that a superficial friendship had been dangerous to me; and many Friends being now uneasy with me, I had an inclination to acquaint some with the manner of my being led into these things; yet upon a deeper thought I was for a time most easy to omit it, believing the present dispensation was profitable; and trusting that if I kept my place, the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of Friends towards me: since which I have had cause to admire his goodness and loving-kindness, in leading about and instructing, and opening and enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.

In the eleventh month of the year 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the second month, 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, on a visit to the families of Friends at Ancocas; in both which visits, through the baptizing power of Truth, the sincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of Friends opened to receive us. In the fourth month following, I accompanied some Friends in a visit to the families of Friends in Mount Holly; in which my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness, wherein strong desires were raised for the everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures; and through the kindness of our heavenly Father, our hearts were at times enlarged, and Friends invited in the flow-

ings of Divine love to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

Having many years felt love in my heart toward the natives of this land, who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell; and who for a very small consideration, assigned their inheritance to us; and being at Philadelphia in the eighth month, 1761, on a visit to some Friends who had slaves, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia. In conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenances and conduct, I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that Divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature; and at times I felt inward drawings toward a visit to that place of which I told none except my dear wife, until it came to some ripeness. In the winter of 1762, I laid it before Friends at our Monthly and Quarterly, and afterwards at our General Spring Meeting; and having the unity of Friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on business. Being informed thereof by letter, I met them in town in the fifth month, 1763; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, with the concurrence of Friends in that place, I agreed to join them as companions in their return. On the 7th day of the sixth month following, we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland, in Bucks county. As this visit felt weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of Divine Provi

dence in preparing my mind for it, have been memorable; and I believe it good for me to give some hints thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unusual sadness; in which times my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly support, that I might not fail to follow him wheresoever he might lead me.—Being at our Youths' meeting at Chesterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, I was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to his Father; "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil." In attending to the pure openings of Truth, I had to mention what he elsewhere said to his Father; "I know that thou hearest me at all times:" so that as some of his followers kept their places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil. As some of those met with great hardships and afflictions in this world, and at last suffered death by cruel men; it appears that whatsoever befalls men while they live in pure obedience to God, as it certainly works for their good, so it may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I spoke on this subject, my heart was much tendered, and great awfulness came over me; and on the first-day of the next week at our own afternoon meeting, my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to make mention of that passage where a band of Assyrians endeavouring to take the prophet captive, were disappointed; and how the psalmist said, "the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him." I parted from Friends in true love and tenderness, ex-

pecting the next morning to proceed on my journey; and being weary, went early to bed: and after I had been asleep a short time, I was awaked by a man calling at my door; and arising, was invited to meet some Friends at a public house in our town, who came from Philadelphia so late that Friends were generally gone to bed. These Friends informed me that an express arrived the last morning from Pittsburgh, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English westward, and slain and scalped English people in divers places, some near Pittsburgh; and that some elderly Friends in Philadelphia knowing the time of my expecting to set off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things before I left home, that I might consider them and proceed as I believed best. I went to bed again, and told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly instruction; and it was an humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but in a few hours time, my mind became settled in a belief that it was my duty to proceed on my journey; and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit, there were great searchings of heart and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be in the least degree attended to, but that of the pure Spirit of Truth.

The subjects before mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public, were now very fresh before me; and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as he saw best. I took leave of my family and neighbours in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our Monthly Meeting at Burlington; and after taking leave of Friends there, I crossed the river

accompanied by my friends Israel and John Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's; where I met the beforementioned Indians, and we were glad to see each other. Here my friend Benjamin Parvin met me, and proposed joining as a companion, we having passed some letters before on the subject; and now on his account I had a sharp trial; for as the journey appeared perilous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties, would add to my own afflictions. So I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me. It was indeed a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit, that he could not be easy to leave me; so we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton and William Lightfoot, of Pikeland, and lodged at Bethlehem. Parting there with John, William and we went forward on the 9th day of the sixth month, and got lodging on the floor of a house about five miles from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William. At this place we met with an Indian trader, lately come from Wyoming; and in conversation with him, I perceived that white people often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe is a great evil; first, they being thereby deprived of the use of their reason, and their spirits violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief; and the bitterness and resentments occasioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance. Again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to b ıy cloth-

ing, when they become intoxicated, they often sell at a low rate for more rum; and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who for the sake of gain, took the advantage of their weakness. Of this their chiefs have often complained, at their treaties with the English. Where cunning people pass counterfeits, and impose that on others which is good for nothing, it is considered as a wickedness; but to sell that to people which we know does them harm, and which often works their ruin, for the sake of gain, manifests a hardened and corrupt heart; and is an evil which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to suppress. While my mind this evening was thus employed, I also remembered that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; who venture to the outside of a colony, that they may live more independently of such who are wealthy, who often set high rents on their land. I was renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to sound wisdom, labouring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be easy for the inhabitants, though much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on honest employments, without that temptation they are often under of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on lands which have not been purchased of the Indians, or of applying to the practice of selling rum to them.

On the 10th day of the month we set out early in the morning, and crossed the western branch of the Delaware, called the Great Lehigh, near Fort Allen; the water being high, we went over in a canoe. Here we

met an Indian, and had some friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us some of it. After travelling some miles, we met several Indian men and women with a cow and horse and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wyoming, and going to settle at another place; we made them some small presents; and some of them understanding English, I told them my motive in coming into their country; with which they appeared satisfied. One of our guides talking a while with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. So going on we pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge; and by the roughness of the stones and the cavities between them, and the steepness of the hills, it appeared dangerous: but we were preserved in safety, through the kindness of Him whose works in those mountainous deserts appeared awful; toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose, were various representations of men going to and returning from the wars, and of some killed in battle. This being a path heretofore used by warriors; and as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red but some in black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world; thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors, travelling over mountains and deserts; thinking on their miseries and distresses when wounded far from home by their enemies; and of their

bruises and great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains; and of their restless, unquiet state of mind, who live in this spirit; and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of those nations engaged in war with each other: during these meditations, the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people, arose very fresh in me. This was the first night that we lodged in the woods; and being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground, our tent, and the bushes which we purposed to lay under our blankets also wet, all looked discouraging; but I believed that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that he would dispose of me as he saw good, and therein I felt easy. We kindled a fire with our tent open to it; and with some bushes next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed; and lying down, got some sleep: and in the morning feeling a little unwell, I went into the river; the water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh and well.

The 11th day of the sixth month, the bushes being wet, we tarried in our tent till about eight o'clock; when going on, crossed a high mountain supposed to be upward of four miles over; the steepness on the north side exceeding all the others: we also crossed two swamps; and it raining near night, we pitched our tent and lodged.

About noon, on our way we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren going to Wehaloosing, and an Indian man with him who could talk English; and we being together while our horses eat grass, had some friendly conversation; but they travelling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian, I understood had spent some time this spring at Wehaloosing; and was by some of the Indians, invited to come again.

The 12th day of the sixth month and first of the week, it being rainy, we continued in our tent; and here I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of Truth amongst them. As it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increasing, and by reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to season my mind, and bring me into a nearer sympathy with them: and as mine eye was to the great Father of mercies, humbly desiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horse, though hoppled, went away in the night; and after finding our own, and searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about seven hours returned with him: we lodged here again; tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

On the 13th day of the sixth month, the sun appearing, we set forward; and as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alteration in the circumstances of the natives of this land since the coming of the English. The lands near the sea, are conveniently situated for fishing; the lands near the rivers where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the running of the tides, makes

passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. Those natives have in some places, for trifling considerations, sold their inheritance so favourably situated; and in other places been driven back by superior force. As their way of clothing themselves is now altered from what it was, and they are far remote from us, they have to pass over mountains, swamps and barren deserts, where travelling is very troublesome, in bringing their skins and furs to trade with us.

By the extending of English settlements, and partly by English hunters, the wild beasts they chiefly depend on for a subsistence, are not so plenty as they were; and people too often for the sake of gain, open a door for the Indians to waste their skins and furs, in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires being now very much broken, my heart with much earnestness turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me. I had a prospect of the English along the coast, for upwards of nine hundred miles, where I have travelled; and their favourable situation and the difficulties attending the natives in many places, and also the negroes, were open before me; and a weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be obedient to the Lord, while in tender mercies he is yet calling to us; and so attend to pure universal righteousness, as to give no just cause of offence to the Gentiles who do not profess Christianity, whether the blacks from Africa or the native inhabitants of this continent. I was led into a close, laborious inquiry, whether as an individual, I kept clear from all things which tended

to stir up, or were connected with wars, either in this and or Africa; and my heart was deeply concerned, that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure Truth, and live and walk in the plainness and simplicity of a sincere follower of Christ. In this lonely journey this day, I greatly bewailed the spreading of a wrong spirit, believing that the prosperous, convenient situation of the English, requires a constant attention to Divine love and wisdom to guide and support us in a way answerable to the will of that good, gracious and Almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind. Here, luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me; and I felt in that which is immutable, that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent: nor have I words sufficient to set forth the longing I then felt, that we who are placed along the coast, and have tasted the love and goodness of God, might arise in his strength; and like faithful messengers, labour to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

We reached the Indian settlement at Wyoming, and were told that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians taking an English fort westward and destroying the people, and that they were endeavouring to take another; and also that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles above Wehaloosing, and brought news that some Indian warriors from distant parts, came to that town with two English scalps; and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our guides took us to the house of a very ancient man; and soon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian house some distance off, and I perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he having a tomahawk under his matchcoat out of sight, as I approached him he took it in his hand. I however went forward, and speaking to him in a friendly way perceived he understood some English: my companion then coming out, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; and then he going into the house with us, and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, and sat down and smoked his pipe. Though his taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him, had a disagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged, that the Indians living about Wyoming, expected in a few days to move to some larger towns, I thought that to all outward appearance, it was dangerous travelling at this time. After a hard day's journey, I was brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back and view over the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit; and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilful disobedience. As I believed I had under a sense of duty come thus far, I was now earnest in spirit beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation, as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of dis-

grace arising on my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Thus I lay full of thoughts during a great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and slept by me; until the Lord, my gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased to give me quietness. I was again strengthened to commit my life and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands; and getting a little sleep toward day, when morning came we arose.

On the 14th day of the sixth month, we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with; they being chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged, in all perhaps twenty. I expressed the care I had on my mind for their good; and told them that true love had made me willing to leave my family to come and see the Indians, and speak with them in their houses. Some of them appeared kind and friendly. We took our leave of these Indians, and went up the river Susquehanna about three miles, to the house of an Indian called Jacob January, who had killed his hog; and the women were making a store of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the spring, which lying dry, was leaky; and being detained some hours, we had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family, and after eating dinner with them, made them some small presents. Then putting our baggage in the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses; and swimming them over a creek called Lahawahamunk, we pitched our tent a little above it, there being a shower in the evening: and in a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials and inclining my heart to trust in him, I lay

down in an humble bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

On the 15th day of the sixth month, we proceeded until the afternoon; when a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place, and staid there all night; the rain continuing so heavy, that it beat through our tent and wet us and our baggage.

On the 16th day, we found on our way an abundance of trees blown down with the storm yesterday; and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a safe place for us in a valley, while this storm continued. By the falling of trees across our path we were much hindered, and in some swamps our way was so stopped, that we got through with extreme difficulty.

I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in the world; and a belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support his people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me; and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation.

We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river: and this afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English, and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river; and understanding where we expected to lodge, pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work pushing up stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday, and told them that three warriors, coming from some distance, lodged in a town above Wehaloosing a few nights past; and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata.

Job was going down the river to the provin e store at Shamokin. Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from what I had been used to, I grew sick: and the news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith; and though through the strength of Divine love, I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the Divine disposal, I still found the want of my strength being renewed, that I might persevere therein; and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who in great mercy gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

On the 17th day, parting from Job Chilaway, we went on and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon; and the first Indian we saw was a woman of a modest countenance, with a Bible, who first spoke to our guide; and then with a harmonious voice expressed her gladness at seeing us, having before heard of our coming. By the direction of our guide we sat down on a log, and he went to the town to tell the people we were come. My companion and I sitting thus together, in a deep inward stillness, the poor woman came and sat near us; and great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After a while we heard a conk-shell blow several times, and then came John Curtis and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found, I suppose, about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting a short time, I stood up and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit, and that a concern for their good had made me

willing to come thus far to see them; all in a few short sentences, which some of them understanding, interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I showed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.

On the 18th day we rested ourselves in the forenoon; and the Indians knowing that the Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and that some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay awhile with them, were I believe concerned, that no jarring or discord might be in their meetings: and they I suppose, having conferred together, acquainted me that the people at my request, would at any time come together and hold meetings; and also told me, that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings, which are commonly held morning and near evening. I found a liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people; and that I believed no ill effects would follow, if I sometimes spoke in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course: whereupon he expressed his good-will toward my speaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to say. Near evening I was at their meeting, where the pure Gospel love was felt, to the tendering some of our hearts; and the interpreters endeavouring to acquaint the people with what I said in short sentences, found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues, so they helped one another, and we laboured along, Divine love attending. Afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters

that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed if I prayed aright, he would hear me, and expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love. Before the people went out, I observed Papunehang, a man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender, spoke to one of the interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said in substance; "I love to feel where words come from."

On the 19th day and first of the week, this morning in the meeting the Indian who came with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed; and then the Moravian spoke a short time to the people. In the afternoon they coming together, and my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spoke to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded. In which exercise, I believe the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to edification, where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of Divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord; and after I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited to give the Indians the substance of what I had said.

Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians; who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts; and a near sympathy with them was raised in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, did not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble; and though through the mercies of God, I believed that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors, were in times of weakness afflicting to me; and being of a tender constitution, the thoughts of captivity amongst them, were at times grievous; supposing that they being strong and hardy, might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear; but the Lord alone was my keeper; and I believed if I went into captivity, it would be for some good end; and thus from time to time, my mind was centered in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And now, this day, though I had the same dangerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongst the Indians.

When the last-mentioned meeting was ended, it being night, Papunehang went to bed; and one of the interpreters sitting by me, I observed Papunehang spoke with an harmonious voice, I suppose, a minute or two: and asking the interpreter, was told that "he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favours he had received that day; and prayed that he would continue to favour him with the same which he had experienced in that meeting." That though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravians, and join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

On the 20th day I was at two meetings, and silent in them.

The 21st day. This morning in meeting my heart was enlarged in pure love amongst them, and in short plain

sentences expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily; after which the meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord toward us; and believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ, to labour amongst these people.

Feeling my mind at liberty to return, I took my leave of them in general, at the conclusion of what I said in meeting; and so we prepared to go homeward: but some of their most active men told us, that when we were ready to move, the people would choose to come and shake hands with us; which those who usually come to meeting did; and from a secret draught in my mind, I went amongst some who did not use to go to meeting, and took my leave of them also: the Moravian and his Indian interpreter, appeared respectful to us at parting. This town stands on the bank of Susquehanna, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together; some about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide; some larger, some less; mostly built of split plank, one end set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters covered with bark. I understand a great flood 'ast winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town stands, and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be our company; but when we were ready to go, we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with skins and furs, who chose to go in company with us; so they loaded two canoes, which they desired us to go in, telling us, tne waters were so raised with the rains, that the horses should be taken by persons who were better acquainted with the fording

places: so we with several Indians went in the canoes, and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours. We met with the horsemen once on the way by appointment, a little below a stream called Tunkhannock: we lodged there, and some of the young men going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

On the 22d day, through diligence we reached Wyoming before night, and understood the Indians were mostly gone from this place: here we went up a small creek into the woods with our canoes, and pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horses came to us.

On the 23d day in the morning, the horses were loaded, and we prepared our baggage and set forward, being in all fourteen; and with diligent travelling were favoured to get nearly half way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wyoming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass scarce, they chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for grassing; and I having sweat much in travelling, and being weary, slept sound. I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better soon.

On the 24th day we passed Fort Allen, and lodged near it in the woods.

We forded the westerly branch of the Delaware three times, and thereby had a shorter way, and missed going over the top of the Blue mountains, called the Second Ridge. In the second time fording, where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, and my companion's mare being a tall tractable animal, he sundry times drove her through the river, and they loaded her with the burthens of some small horses,

which they thought not sufficient to come through with their loads.

The troubles westward, and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier, I apprehend was one reason why so many came; expecting that our being in company, would prevent the frontier inhabitants from being surprised.

On the 25th day we reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremost, and to acquaint people on and near the road who these Indians were: this we found very needful; for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of English being killed by Indians westward.

Amongst our company were some who I did not remember to have seen at meeting, and some of these at first were very reserved; but we being several days together, and behaving friendly toward them, and making them suitable returns for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

On the 26th day and first of the week, having carefully endeavoured to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted with us affectionately. We got to Richland, and had a very comfortable meeting amongst our friends: here I parted with my kind friend and companion Benjamin Parvin; and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, where I found my family middling well; and they and my friends all along appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous. My mind while I was out, had been so employed in striving for a perfect resignation, and I had so often been confirmed in a belief, that what-

ever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me, would work for good, that I was careful lest I should admit any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and protector intends for me. Between the English settlements and Wehaloosing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with bushes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it; these, together with the mountains, swamps and rough stones, make it a difficult road to travel; and the more so, for that rattlesnakes abound there, of which we killed four. People who have never been in such places, have but an imperfect idea of them; but I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led me about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation in life is difficult.

CHAPTER IX.

His religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a juggler—John Smith's advice; proceedings of a committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764—Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom, occasioned by hearing of the cruelty of the Indians to their captives—Visits the families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield and Burlington, in 1764, and the meetings on the sea coast from Cape May toward Squan in 1765—visit to the lower counties on Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1766, in company with John Sleeper some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers; and observations on the different state of the first settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own labour, and those of the Southern provinces who kept negroes—visit to the northern

parts of New Jersey the same year, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767, and afterwards other parts of Pennsylvania and the families of Friends at Mount Holly; and again several parts of Maryland in 1768—further considerations on keeping slaves; his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the sale of one; and what he did in consequence of it—thoughts on Friends exercising offices in civil government.

THE latter part of the summer 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly, who had before published by a printed advertisement, that at a certain public house he would show many wonderful operations, which he therein enumerated.

This man at the time appointed, did, by slight of hand, sundry things, which to those gathered, appeared strange.

I heard of it next day, and understanding that the show was to be continued, and the people to meet about sun-set, I felt an exercise on that account: so I went to the public house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people as they came together, concerning this show; and more coming and sitting down with us, the seats at the door were mostly filled; and I had conversation with them in the fear of the Lord, and laboured to convince them that thus assembling to see those tricks or slights of hand, and bestowing their money to support men who in that capacity were of no use in the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion.

There was one of the company who, for a time, endeavoured by arguments to show the reasonableness of their proceedings; but after considering some texts of

Scripture and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point. Having spent about an hour amongst them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

At our Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, on the 25th day of the ninth month, 1764, John Smith of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, stood up in our meeting of ministers and elders, and appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit, informed Friends in substance as follows, to wit: "That he had been a member of the Society upward of sixty years, and well remembered that in those early times Friends were a plain lowly-minded people; and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings.—That at twenty years from that time, the Society increasing in wealth, and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general not so lively and edifying—that at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; that wearing fine costly garments, and using silver and other watches, became customary with them, their sons and their daughters, and many of the Society made a spacious appearance in the world; which marks of outward wealth and greatness, appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders; and as these things became more prevalent, so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the Society—that there had been a continued increase of these ways of life even until now; and that the weakness which hath overspread the Society, and the barrenness manifest amongst us, is matter of much sorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending these meetings in future, expecting his dissolution was now near; and having tenderly expressed his

concern for us, signified that he had seen in the true light that the Lord would bring back his people from these things into which they were thus degenerated, but that his faithful servants must first go through great and heavy exercises.

On the 29th day, the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that service; in which they signified, that in the course of it, they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offices in government, inconsistent with our principles; and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings of discipline, had been one means of weakness more and more prevailing in the management thereof in some places. After this report was read, an exercise revived on my mind, which at times had attended me for several years, and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me, that the fear of man might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and standing up, I spoke in substance as follows: "I have felt a tenderness in my mind toward persons, in two circumstances mentioned in that report; that is, toward such active members who keep slaves, and such who hold offices in civil government; and have desired, that Friends in all their conduct may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many Friends who keep slaves, are under some exercise on that account; and at times, think about trying them with freedom; but find many things in their way. The way of living, and annual expenses of some of them are such, that it seems impracticable for them to set their slaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have observed in some places, at Quar-

terly and Yearly Meetings, and at some houses where travelling Friends and their horses are often entertained, that the yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable. Friends in some places crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment, hath rested as a burthen on my mind for some years past, and I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that Friends now present may duly consider it."

In the fall of this year having hired a man to work, I perceived in conversation that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent; and in the evening giving a narrative of his captivity amongst the Indians, he informed me that he saw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner.

This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed; and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of Divine love spread over my mind; in which I had a renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above, which leads to a right use of all gifts, both spiritual and temporal, and gives contentment therein: under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows.

"Hath He, who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute creatures, given me a capacity superior to theirs, and shown me, that a moderate application to business is proper to my present condition; and that this, attended with his blessing, may supply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds he hath fixed; and no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit, have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom, as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers in this world!

"Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imag-

inary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others, from which they would rather be excused, were the same required of them?

"Do these proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice! Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and in the end inflict terrible pains on their fellow-creatures, and spread desolations in the world?

"Do mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each other's happiness? And do these creatures, capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their wit and strength to afflict and destroy one another?

"Remember then, O my soul! the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it!

"Doth he condescend to bless thee with his presence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee and walk in thee? Remember then thy station, as a being sacred to God; accept of the strength freely offered thee; and take heed that no weakness, in conforming to expensive, unwise and hard-hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife, be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple? And graciously grant that I may be sacred to him. Oh! that I may prize this favour; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character!

"Remember, O my soul! that the prince of peace is thy Lord: that he communicates his unmixed wisdom to his family; that they living in perfect simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any creature, but may walk as he walked!"

Having felt an openness in my heart toward visiting families in our own meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it

in our Monthly Meeting the fore part of the winter 1764; which being agreed to, and several Friends of our meeting united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through Divine favour were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly care amongst Friends. In the latter part of the same winter, I joined my friend William Jones, in a visit to Friends' families in Mansfield; in which labour I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord toward us.

Having felt my mind drawn to visit Friends along the sea coast from Cape May to near Squan; and also to visit some people in those parts, amongst whom there is no settled worship; I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, in a visit there, having Friends' unity therein. We set off the 24th day of the tenth month, 1765, and had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey; feeling at times, through the goodness of the heavenly Shepherd, the Gospel to flow freely toward a poor people scattered in those places. Soon after our return, I joined my friends John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in visiting Friends' families at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our Society in that city; and we had cause humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the state of the people, and strengthened us to labour in true Gospel love amongst them.

An exercise having at times for several years attended me, in regard to paying a religious visit to Friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; such was the nature of it, that I believed the Lord moved me to travel on foot amongst them, that by so doing I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their

masters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse.

The time drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our Monthly Meeting, I perceived in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he was under a concern to travel the same way, and also to go on foot in the form of a servant amongst them, as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise.

We being thus drawn the same way, laid our exercise and the nature of it before Friends; and obtaining certificates, we set off the 6th day of the fifth month, 1766; and were at meetings with Friends at Wilmington, Duck creek, Little creek and Motherkill; my heart being at times tendered under the Divine influence, and enlarged in love toward the people amongst whom we travelled.

From Motherkill, we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to Friends at Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there and at Marshy creek.

At these our three last meetings, were a considerable number of people, followers of one Joseph Nichols, a preacher; who, I understand, is not in outward fellowship with any religious society of people, but professes nearly the same principles as our Society doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard Friends speaking of some of their neighbours, who had been irreligious people, that were now his followers, and were become sober well-behaved men and women.

Some irregularities I hear have been amongst the people at several of his meetings; but from the whole of what I have perceived, I believe the man and some of his followers, are honestly disposed, but that skilful

fathers are wanting among them: from hence we went to Choptank and Third Haven; and thence to Queen Ann's. The weather for some days past having been hot and dry, and in order to attend meetings pursuant to appointment, we having travelled pretty steadily, and had hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly; at which I was for a time discouraged. But looking over our journey, and thinking how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we got forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get soon through the journey, and that this bodily weakness was a kindness to me; and then in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father, for this manifestation of his love; and in humble submission to his will, my trust was renewed in him.

On this part of our journey I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by Friends who were convinced of our principles in England in times of suffering, and coming over bought lands of the natives, and applied themselves to husbandry in a peaceable way; and many of their children were taught to labour for their living.

Few Friends, I believe, came from England to settle in any of these Southern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling friends in early times, there were considerable convincements amongst the inhabitants of these parts. Here I remembered my reading of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in these provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was shed, even in the

infancy of these colonies. The people inhabiting these places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure Truth, when some of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life, and joined in fellowship with our Society, they had a great work to go through. It is observable in the History of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progress from age to age. The uprightness of the first reformers, in attending to the light and understanding given them, opened the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterward; and thus each one truly fearing God, and labouring in those works of righteousness appointed for them in their day, findeth acceptance with him. Through the darkness of the times and the corruption of manners and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that, which the same principle would lead succeeding ages into. Thus for instance; amongst an imperious warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters I suppose, are awakened to feel and see their error; and through sincere repentance, cease from oppression and become like fathers to their servants; showing by their example, a pattern of humility in living and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition of their oppressing neighbours; those without carrying the reformation further, I believe have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and those who succeeded them, and have faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding further; and not only to instruct others by their example of

governing well, but also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed, is graciously moving on the hearts of people, to draw them off from the desire of wealth, and bring them into such an humble, lowly way of living, that they may see their way clearly, to repair to the standard of true righteousness; and not only break the yoke of oppression, but know him to be their strength and support in a time of outward affliction.

Passing on we crossed Chester river, and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Sassafras. Through my bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, it was to me an humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought that what I suffered was little, compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus, and many of his faithful followers; and may say with thankfulness, I was made content.

From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well; and for several weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey: and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink for Christ's sake in those Southern provinces, than we had; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity, according to the understanding and strength given me.

On the 13th day of the eleventh month, 1766, with the unity of Friends at our Monthly Meeting, in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a

visit to Friends in the upper part of this province, having for a considerable time had drawings of love in my heart that way: we travelled as far as Hardwick; and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongst them.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the difficulties of Friends and their servants southwestward: and being often engaged in spirit on their account, I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the Western shore of Maryland, on a religious visit. Having obtained a certificate from Friends of our Monthly Meeting, I took my leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of Truth; and on the 20th day of the fourth month, 1767, I rode to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's, at Darby, that evening; and next day pursued my journey alone, and reached Concord week-day meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress, had at times attended me in this lonesome walk; through which afflictions I was mercifully preserved: and now sitting down with Friends, my mind was turned toward the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings; who, in infinite love, was pleased to soften my heart into humble contrition, and renewedly strengthen me to go forward; that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting.

The next day I came to New Garden week-day meeting, in which I sat with bowedness of spirit; and being baptized into a feeling of the state of some present, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering season; to his name be the praise.

I passed on, and was at Nottingham Monthly Meeting; and at a meeting at Little Britain on first-day: and in the afternoon several Friends came to the house where I lodged, and we had a little afternoon meeting; and

through the humbling power of Truth, I had to admire the loving-kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

On the 26th day I crossed the Susquehanna; and coming amongst people living in outward ease and greatness, chiefly on the labour of slaves, my heart was much affected; and in awful retiredness, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true resignation I might receive instruction from him, respecting my duty amongst this people.

Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body; yet it was agreeable to the state of my mind.

I went gently on, being weakly; and was covered with sorrow and heaviness, on account of the spreading prevailing spirit of this world, introducing customs grievous and oppressive on one hand, and cherishing pride and wantonness on the other. In this lonely walk and state of abasement and humiliation, the state of the church in these parts was opened before me; and I may truly say with the prophet, "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it." Under this exercise, I attended the Quarterly Meeting at Gunpowder; and in bowedness of spirit, I had to open with much plainness, what I felt respecting Friends living in fulness, on the labours of the poor oppressed negroes; and that promise of the Most High was now revived; "I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory." Here the sufferings of Christ and his tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings and martyrdom of the apostles and primitive Christians, in labouring for the conversion of the Gentiles, was livingly revived in me; and according to the measure of strength afforded, I laboured in some tenderness of spirit, being deeply affected amongst them. The

difference between the present treatment which these Gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive Christians for the conversion of the Gentiles, was pressed home, and the power of Truth came over us; under a feeling of which, my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in those parts; and the meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness toward his humble dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded: in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as he might be pleased to lead me: and I was mercifully helped to labour honestly and fervently amongst them, in which I found inward peace; and the sincere were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe creek, and passed on to the Red Lands; and had several meetings amongst Friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a sense of the Lord's goodness, in sanctifying my troubles and exercises, turning them to my comfort, and I believe, to the benefit of many others; for I may say with thankfulness, that this visit appeared like a fresh tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the western Quarterly Meeting in Pennsylvania; during the several days of this meeting, I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of Truth, and my public labours tended to my humiliation, with which I was content. After the Quarterly Meeting of worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting of business, which was very full; and here the humility of Jesus Christ, as a pattern for us to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time

From hence I went on, and was at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence and Haddonfield, and so home; where I found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey, excites reverent thankfulness to him.

On the 2d day of the ninth month, 1767, with the unity of Friends, I set off on a visit to Friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks; and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodness, opened my way amongst Friends, and made the meetings, I trust, profitable to us. The following winter I joined in a visit to Friends' families in some part of our meeting; in which exercise, the pure influence of Divine love made our visits reviving.

On the 5th day of the fifth month, 1768, I left home under the humbling hand of the Lord, having obtained a certificate, in order to visit some meetings in Maryland; and to proceed without a horse looked clearest to me. I was at the Quarterly Meetings at Philadelphia and Concord; and then went on to Chester river; and crossing the bay with Friends, was at the Yearly Meeting at West river: thence back to Chester river; and taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting; and as my eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration, when things appeared very difficult.

In my return I felt a relief of mind very comfortable to me; having through Divine help, laboured in much plainness, both with Friends selected, and in the more public meetings; so that I trust the pure witness in many minds was reached.

The 11th day of the sixth month, 1769. Sundry cases have happened of late years, within the limits of our Monthly Meeting, respecting the exercise of pure righteousness toward the negroes; in which I have lived under a labour of heart that equity might be steadily kept to. On this account I have had some close exercises amongst Friends; in which I may thankfully say, I find peace: and as my meditations have been on universal love, my own conduct in time past, became of late very grievous to me.

As persons setting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them, in case they have need of relief, some who scrupled keeping slaves for term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service until thirty years of age, without wages, on that account: and with this custom I so far agreed, that being engaged with another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, I once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart I may now say, that sometimes as I have sat in meeting, with my heart exercised toward that awful Being, who respecteth not persons nor colours, and have looked upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him: and as I have attended to this exercise, and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution, but in what way I saw not till lately. Being under a concern that I may be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies, and under close engagement of spirit, seeking to the Lord for counsel herein, my joining in the sale aforesaid, came heavily upon me, and my mind for a time, was covered with

darkness and sorrow; and under this sore affliction, my heart was softened to receive instruction. Here I saw, that as I had been one of the two executors, who had sold this lad nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer a part of my substance to redeem the last half of that nine years; but as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me and my executors, to pay to the man he was sold to, what to candid men might appear equitable, for the last four years and a half of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

The 9th day of the tenth month, 1769. My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling I have had, that the standard of pure righteousness, is not lifted up to the people by us as a Society, in that clearness which it might have been, had we been as faithful to the teachings of Christ as we ought to have been. As my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been opened on my understanding; and under this exercise, that of Friends being active in civil society, in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteousness, hath for several years been an increasing burthen upon me. I have felt in the openings of universal love, that where a people convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting laws in execution, which are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds: and as my heart hath been thus exercised, and a tender sympathy in me toward my fellow members, I have within a few months past, in several meetings for discipline, expressed my concern on this subject.

CHAPTER X.

His exercise for the good of the people in the West Indies—communicates to Friends his resignation to visit some of these islands—The state of his mind, and the close considerations he was led into while under this exercise—preparations to embark, and considerations on the trade to these islands; released from the concern he had been under—religious engagements after his return home—His sickness, in which he was brought to a very low state; and the prospects he then had.

THE 12th day of the third month, 1770, having for some years past, dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my nose, I grew weak in body, and not of ability to travel by land as heretofore. I was at times favoured to look with awfulness toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death; and to feel thankfulness raised in me, for this his fatherly chastisement, believing if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good. While I was under this bodily weakness, my mind being at times exercised for my fellow-creatures in the West Indies, I grew jealous over myself, lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto: for though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect. Feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, as I walked one day in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, cries were raised in me to my merciful Father, that he would graciously keep me in faithfulness; and it then settled

on my mind as a duty, to open my condition to Friends at our Monthly Meeting; which I did soon after, as follows:

"An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late been more weighty upon me, under which, I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies." In the Quarterly and General Spring Meeting, I found no clearness to express any thing further, than that I believed resignation herein was required of me; and having obtained certificates from all the said meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, kept free from worldly incumbrances, and was often bowed in spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to him, that I might be rightly directed. I may here note, that what I have before related of my being when young, joined as an executor with another Friend, in executing a will, our having sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the occasion of great sorrow to me. After having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided sea-stores, a bed, and other things for the voyage; and hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spoke with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went to Philadelphia on purpose to speak with him again. He told me there was a Friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel; but I felt no inclination to speak with him, but returned home. A while after, I took leave of my family, and going to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows:

"On the 24th day of the eleventh month, 1769. As an exercise, with respect to a visit to Barbadoes, hath

been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the trials which have attended me, under which, I have at times rejoiced that I have felt my own self-will subjected.

"Some years ago, I retailed rum, sugar and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves; but then had not much concern about them, save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been. But of late years being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the degrees there are in the connexions of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness, Ephe. v, 11; and feeling an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, it hath appeared to me, that the small gain I got by this branch of trade, should be applied in promoting righteousness on the earth; and was the first motion toward a visit to Barbadoes. I believed the outward substance I possess should be applied in paying my passage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose, which hath been a continued trial for some months past; under which, I have with abasement of mind, from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction; and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself, for that the Lord hid his face from him. During these exercises, my heart hath been often contrite; and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures, labouring under those expensive customs distinguishable from the simplicity that there is in Christ, 2 Cor. ii, 3, and sometimes in the renewings of Gospe. love, I have been helped to minister to others.

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind in seeking to the Lord for instruction is, whether after so full information of the oppression which the slaves who raise the West India produce lie under, as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, written by Anthony Benezet, it is right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade.

"To trade freely with oppressors, and without labouring to dissuade from their unkind treatment, seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those with whom they have commerce. That complaint of the Lord by his prophet, "They have strengthened the hands of the wicked," hath very often revived in my mind; and I may here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years: he longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, at war with Israel; and some of his men to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

"It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taste; but having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. The oppression of the slaves which I have seen in several journeys southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none

of my fellow-creatures, hath, from time to time, livingly revived on my mind; and under this exercise, I have for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

"I do not censure my brethren in these things; but believe the Father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of these oppressed people; and is preparing soon to have a tender feeling of their condition: and the trading in, or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the prince of peace.

"After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord, further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such further manifestation.

"The number of those who decline the use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even amongst people truly pious; and the labours in Christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive.

"Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be quite stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread.

"Did we on this continent, and the inhabitants of the West Indies, generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go in ballast have arisen in my mind, I have

believed that the labours in Gospel love, yet bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness, are not arrived to that height.

"If the trade to the West Indies was no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now; and under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take the advantage of this great trade and small passage money; but as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time."

The first-mentioned owner having read the paper, expressed a willingness to go with me to the other owner; and we going, the other owner read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation; under which, I felt my soul bowed in reverence before the Most High. At length one of them asked me, if I would go and see the vessel; but I had not clearness in my mind to go; but went to my lodgings and retired in private.

I was now under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries that he would graciously help me under these trials.

In this case I believe my mind was resigned, but did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness and the necessity of Divine instruction, were impressed upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest; under which affliction, the doctrine of Christ "Take no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me. I remembered that it was some days before they expected the vessel to sail, and was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness; and having been nearly two days in town, I believed my obe-

dience to my heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward. I went over amongst Friends on the Jersey shore, and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to sail; and as I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation, that it was the Lord's will I should pass through some further exercises near home.

So I went home, and still felt like a sojourner with my family, and in the fresh spring of pure love, had some labours in a private way amongst Friends, on a subject relating to Truth's testimony; under which I had frequently been exercised in heart for some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh before me, "Whithersoever their faces were turned, thither they went;" and I was graciously helped to discharge my duty, in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

After a few weeks it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy; and after I had lain a few days, and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end.

I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life; and I now thought if it was the Lord's will to put an end to my labours, and graciously receive me into the arms of his mercy, death would be acceptable to me; but if it was his will further to refine me under affliction, and make me in any degree, useful in his church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say, that in this case I felt resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a doctor; believing if it was the Lord's will, through outward means, to raise me up, some sympathizing Friends would be sent to minister to me; who were accordingly. But though I was carefully attended,

yet the disorder was at times so heavy, that I had no thoughts of recovery. One night in particular, my bodily distress was great; my feet grew cold, and cold increased up my legs toward my body, and at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply any thing warm to my feet, expecting my end was near. After I had lain nearly ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body; but in these awful moments my mind was livingly opened to behold the church, and strong engagements were begotten in me, for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-creatures; and I felt in the spring of pure love, that I might remain some time longer in the body, in filling up according to my measure, that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, and in labouring for the good of the church. After this I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet, and I revived. The next night feeling a weighty exercise of spirit, and having a solid Friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said; which he did, as follows:

"4th day of the first month, 1770, about five o'clock in the morning. I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is the most wise in human policy, shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice, shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and he commanded me to open the vision."

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who, at my request, wrote as follows:

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints were precious incense: and a trumpet was given me, that I might sound forth this language, that the children might hear it, and be invited to gather to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints, as precious incense, arise up before the throne of God and the Lamb—I saw this habitation to be safe; to be inwardly quiet, when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

"Prayer at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place: the trumpet is sounded, the call goes forth to the church, that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe."

CHAPTER XI.

Preparing to visit Friends in England—Embarks at Chester, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ship bound to London—His deep exercise, in observing the difficulties and hardships the common sailors are exposed to—Considerations on the dangers to which youth are exposed, in being trained to a sea-faring life; and its inconsistency with a pious education—thoughts in a storm at sea; with many instructive contemplations on the voyage—arrival at London.

HAVING been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit Friends in the Northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire; after weighty consideration, I thought it expedient to inform Friends at our Monthly Meeting at Burlington of it; who having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate. I afterwards communicated the same to our Quarterly Meeting, and they likewise certified

their concurrence therewith. Some time after, at the General Spring Meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them of the religious exercise which attended my mind; and they likewise signified their unity by a certificate, dated the 24th day of the eighth month, 1772, directed to Friends in Great Britain.

In the fourth month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; being apprehensive, that as my concern was principally towards the Northern parts of England, it would be most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While I was at Philadelphia deliberating on this occasion, I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jr., intending to go to London, had taken passage for himself in the cabin of the ship called Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and I feeling a draft in my mind toward the steerage of the same ship, went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spoke to him, and appeared glad that I had thought of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage; and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin, a commodious room, and then into the steerage, where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us; the owner of the ship came and sat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Christ, the heavenly counsellor; and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before him.

A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave

the ship, and made no agreement as to a passage in her; but told the owner, if I took a passage in the ship, I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a Friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a passage in the steerage; which for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and his love strengthened my heart. In the morning I went again with two Friends on board the vessel; and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner; to whom, in the hearing of Samuel, I opened my exercise in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin, which was in substance as follows:

I told the owner that on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that according to the ways of men's reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment, had some relation to the expense of furnishing it to please the minds of such who give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this case, as in other cases, the monies received from the passengers, are calculated to answer every expense relating to their passage, and amongst the rest of these superfluities: and that I felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to defray such expenses.

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner that I had at several times in my travels, seen great oppressions

on this continent; at which my heart had been much affected, and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers. And having many times been engaged, in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived a desire prevalent to get riches and provide estates for children, to live conformably to customs, which stand in that spirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world. In the pursuit of these things, I have seen many entangled in the spirit of oppression, and the exercise of my soul has been such, that I could not find peace in joining in any thing which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and hearing that Joseph White had a desire to see me, I felt the reviving of a desire to see him, and went to his house, and the next day home, where I tarried two nights: and then early in the morning, I parted with my family under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me; and going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel, where I was likely to lodge.

In these opportunities, my mind through the mercies of the Lord, was kept low in an inward waiting for his help; and Friends having expressed their desire that I might have a place more convenient than the steerage, did not urge, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having staid two nights in Philadelphia, I went the next day to Darby Monthly Meeting; where, through the strength of Divine love, my heart was enlarged toward the youth then present; under which I was helped to

labour in some tenderness of spirit. Then lodging at William Horne's, I, with one Friend, went to Chester; where meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on board the 1st day of the fifth month, 1772: and as I sat alone on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not of my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

7th day of the fifth month: have had rough weather mostly, since I came on board; and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bispham, all sea-sick, more or less, at times; from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preserved; my afflictions now being of another kind.

There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship and of the cabin passengers toward me; we were often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin. My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, has been preserved in a good degree watchful, and inward; and I have this day, great cause to be thankful that I continue to feel quietness of mind.

As my lodging in the steerage, now nearly a week, has afforded me opportunities of seeing, hearing and feeling, with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors; an inward exercise of soul has attended me, in regard to placing children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord. Being much amongst the seamen, I have from a motion of love, several times taken opportunities with one of them at a time alone; and in a free conversation, laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrited under a feeling of Divine love.

Concerning lads being trained up as seamen; I believe communication by sea from one part of the world to other parts of it, is at times, consistent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe may be right. But how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! how impure are the channels through which trade has a conveyance! how great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed, when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing!

Five lads training up for the seas, were now on board of this ship; two of them brought up amongst our Society, and one has a right amongst Friends, by name James Nayler, to whose father, James Nayler mentioned in Sewel's History, appears to have been uncle.

I often feel a tenderness of heart toward these poor lads; and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh.

O that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! O that all may learn of Christ, who was meek and low of heart! and in faithfully following him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without respect to the customs or honours of this world.

Men thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged; and where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the word, these will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time.

Rising to work in the night, is not commonly pleasant in any case; but in dark rainy nights it is very disagree-

able, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences. But if men must go out at midnight to help manage the ship in the rain, and having small room to sleep and lay their garments in, are often beset to furnish themselves for the watch; their garments or some thing relating to their business being wanting, and not easily found; when from the urgency occasioned by high winds, they are hastened and called up suddenly; here is a trial of patience on the poor sailors, and the poor lads their companions.

If after they have been on deck several hours in the night, they come down into the steerage soaking wet, and are so closely stowed that proper convenience for change of garment is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments thrown in heaps, and sometimes through much crowding, are trodden under foot, in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and great difficulty at times, each one to find his own; here are trials on the poor sailors.

As I have been with them in my lodge, my heart has often yearned for them; and tender desires been raised in me, that owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and by seeking less for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, either to fret or use excess of strong drink; for indeed the poor creatures at times, in the wet and cold, seem to apply to strong drink to supply the want of other conveniences.

Great reformation in the world is wanting, and the necessity of it amongst those who do business on the great waters, has at this time been abundantly opened before me.

The 8th day of the fifth month. This morning the clouds gathered, and the wind blew strong from the south-eastward, and before noon increased to a degree that made sailing appear dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails and took down some; and the storm increasing, they put the dead lights, so called, into the cabin windows and lighted a lamp as at night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to such a degree, that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent, I believe, about seventeen hours; for I believed the poor wet toiling seamen, had need of all the room in the crowded steerage, and the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceased now from sailing, and put the vessel in the posture called lying-to.

My mind during this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and I felt at times a few words in his love to my ship-mates, in regard to the all-sufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive, that a sparrow falls not without his notice. Thus in a tender frame of mind I spoke to them of the necessity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the instructions of our heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities, intendeth our refinement.

About eleven o'clock at night I went out on the deck, when the sea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves, all around, had in some sort the appearance of fire; but did not give much, if any light. The sailor then at the helm, said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast.

About this time I observed the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on deck; and though he

said little, I apprehended his care was, that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness, in case of any extremity.

Soon after this, the vehemency of the wind abated; and before morning they again put the ship under sail.

The 10th day of the month and first of the week, being fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which most of the seamen were present; and to me it was a strengthening time.

The 13th day of the month. As I continue to lodge in the steerage, I feel an openness this morning to express something further of the state of my mind, in respect to lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing. As I believe sailing is of some use in the world, a labour of soul attends me, that the pure counsel of Truth may be humbly waited for, in this case, by all concerned in the business of the seas.

A pious father, whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not, with a peaceable mind, place him out to an employment amongst a people whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. So great is the present defect amongst seafaring men, in regard to piety and virtue, and through an abundant traffic, and many ships of war, so many people are employed on the sea, that the subject of placing lads to this employment appears very weighty.

Profane examples are very corrupting and very forcible. As my mind, day after day, and night after night, has been affected with a sympathizing tenderness toward children put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and more

so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds appeared to be so deeply impressed with the almost universal depravity amongst sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me on this subject, revived in my remembrance, that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Under this exercise a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us, hath felt grievous; and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ, hath been raised in me, that all may take heed, lest through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with respect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence, as to every motion proceeding from the love of money, and an humble waiting upon God to know his will concerning us, appear necessary: he alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so to direct us in our outward employments, that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings.

Desires arising from the Spirit of Truth, are pure desires; and when a mind, divinely opened toward a young generation, is made sensible of corrupting examples, powerfully working and extensively spreading amongst them, how moving is the prospect!

There is a great trade to the coast of Africa for slaves; of which I heard frequent conversation among the sailors!

A great trade in that which is raised and prepared through grievous oppression!

A great trade in superfluity of workmanship formed to please the pride and vanity of people's minds!

Great and extensive is that depravity which prevails amongst the poor sailors!

When I remember that saying of the Most High, through his prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise," and think of placing children amongst them, to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education, seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate thorny wilderness, how precious, how comfortable, how safe, are the leadings of Christ, the good Shepherd; who said, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine."

The 16th day of the month. Wind for several days past often high, what the sailors call squally, rough sea and frequent rains. This last night was a very trying one to the poor seamen; the water, during the chief part of it, running over the main deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of Divine love; and resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas, was renewedly wrought in me, whose fatherly care over his children felt precious to my soul. Desires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in his love for the spreading of pure universal righteousness on the earth. The opportunities were frequent of hearing conversation amongst the sailors, in respect to the voyages to Africa, the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands, and their condition on board the vessels, frequently in chains and fetters, with hearts loaded with grief, under the appre-

hensions of miserable slavery; and my mind was frequently opened to meditate on these things.

On the 17th day of the month and first of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin; to which the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord; whose love at this time, affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of soul, with my poor wife and family left behind; in which state my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support, through all the difficulties in this world; and a sense of that gracious assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them, to travel in the love of Truth, begot thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

On the 24th day of the month and first of the week, a clear pleasant morning; and as I sat on deck, I felt a reviving in my nature; which through much rainy weather and high winds, being shut up in a close unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing so difficult, that a little after the rising of the second watch, which is about midnight, I got up, and stood, I believe, nearly an hour with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at a small vacancy under the hatch door, which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain, and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage.

I may, with thankfulness to the Father of mercies, acknowledge that in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear the affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my

floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel what many thousands of my fellow-creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial has been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the fountain of comfort, whose inward help has supplied, at times, the want of outward convenience: and strong desires have attended me, that his family, who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money, and from that spirit in which men seek honour one of another; that in all business by sea or land, we may constantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven; and by faithfully following this safe guide, show forth examples, tending to lead out of those things under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabin; in which I was favoured in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet, "The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress;" for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before him.

The 28th day of the month: wet weather of late, with small winds inclining to calms; our seamen cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathoms, but found no bottom: foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men, my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail amongst mankind.

The leading on of a young generation, in that pure way, in which the wisdom of this world hath no place; where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heav-

enly Counsellor, may example them in the Truth as it is in Jesus, has for several days, been the exercise of my mind. O how safe, how quiet is that state, where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, and a watchful care is maintained, not to follow the voice of the stranger!

Here, Christ is felt to be our Shepherd; and under his leading people are brought to a stability; and where he doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love, to stand still and wait upon him. In the love of money, and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of affairs pushes forward; nor can the mind in this state, discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which stands in confusion; but if we bow not in the name of Jesus; if we give not up those prospects of gain, which in the wisdom of this world are open before us, but say in our hearts, I must needs go on; and in going on, I hope to keep as near to the purity of Truth, as the business before me will admit of; here the mind remains entangled, and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed.

This query opens in my mind in the love of Christ; where shall a pious father place his son apprentice, to be instructed in the practice of crossing the seas; and have faith to believe, that Christ our holy Shepherd leads him to place his son there?

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be instructed, and led safely on through the great difficulties and perplexities of the present age.

In an entire subjection of our wills, the Lord gra-

ciously opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wisdom; and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation, as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy garment: in Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation, a red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain, and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times toward the tabernacle of the congregation. Then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, were to be burnt without the camp; and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus the crucifying of the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind, which is death.

"He who toucheth the dead body of a man, and purifieth not himself with the water of separation, he defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean."

If any through the love of gain, go forth into business, wherein they dwell as amongst the tombs, and touch the bodies of those who are dead: if these, through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the Divine Leader; here is the judgment of this world—here the prince of this world is cast out.

The water of separation is felt; and though we have been amongst the slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man; yet in the purifying love of Christ, we are washed in the water of separation, are brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship, which are not agreeable to his holy will. I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite

love, is calling to his visited children, so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that his Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death, as to his own will.

"No man can see God, and live:" This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet; and opened by our blessed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified and prepared to understand clearly. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart, the mind is Divinely opened to behold the nature of universal righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. "No man hath seen the Father, save he that is of God; he hath seen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and in this natural activity, business is proposed, and there is a will in us to go forward in it. And as long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction against the clearness of Divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our strength, then in this love we love our neighbours as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people for whom Christ died, even such who as to untoward circumstances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. "Who is my neighbour?" See this question answered by our Saviour, Luke x, 30.

In this love we can say, that Jesus is the Lord; and the reformation in our souls is manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all

things are of God; 2 Cor. v, 18, in this the desire of gain is subjected.

When employment is honestly followed in the light of Truth; and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," the name is opened; "This is the name by which he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness." Oh, how precious is this name! It is like ointment poured out. The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and for promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches, that in their employments, they become extensively careful to give no offence, either to Jews, or heathen, or the church of Christ.

On the 31st day of the month, and first of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin, with nearly all the ship's company; the whole being nearly thirty. In this meeting the Lord, in mercy, favoured us with the extendings of his love.

The 2d day of the sixth month. Last evening the seamen found bottom at about twenty fathoms.

This morning there was a fair wind, and it was pleasant: as I sat on deck my heart was overcome with the love of Christ, and melted into contrition before him: and in this state, the prospect of that work, to which I have felt my mind drawn when in my native land, being in some degree opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my heavenly Father for preservation, that in an humble dependence on him, my soul may be strengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his counsel.

This afternoon we saw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea-stores: I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a considerable number with sickness, at different times. I observed the cocks crew coming down the Delaware, and while we were near the land; but afterward, I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the land in England, when they again crowed a few times.

In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the fountain of Goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends even to caring for the sparrows; and I believe, where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness toward all creatures made subject to us will be experienced; and a care felt, that we do not lessen that sweetness of life, in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

The 4th day of the month. Wet weather, with high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of missing the channel; which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter; and they saw the land, and knew where we were. Thus the Father of mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers, and then graciously from time to time deliver from them; sparing our lives, that in humility and reverence, we may walk before him, and put our trust in him.

About noon a pilot came off from Dover; where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on shore, and thence to London, about seventy-two miles by land; but I felt easy in staying in the ship.

The 7th day of the month, and first of the week. A clear morning; we lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ship's company; in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head wind up the Thames; sometimes lay at anchor, and saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near; and had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live. That lamentable degeneracy, which so much prevails among the people employed on the seas, so affected my heart, that I may not easily convey to another the feeling I have had.

The present state of a sea-faring life in general, appears so opposite to a pious education; so full of corruption, and extreme alienation from God; so full of examples, the most dangerous to young people, that in looking toward a young generation, I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present education of lads at sea: and that all of us, who are acquainted with the pure Gospel spirit, may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandise across the seas, and so abide in the love of Christ, that being delivered from the love of money, from the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate and luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little; and promote the sea-faring life no further, than that spirit, which leads into all truth, attends us in our proceedings.

CHAPTER XII.

Attends the Yearly Meeting in London—proceeds towards Yorkshire, visiting several Quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland; and thence again into Yorkshire, and to the city of York—some instructive thoughts and observations—letters on divers subjects—hears of the decease of William Hunt; some account of him—sickness at York; and death there.

On the 8th day of the sixth month, 1772, we landed at London; and I went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered, I suppose, about half an hour.

In this meeting, my mind was humbly contrite: in the afternoon, the meeting of business opened, which by adjournments held near a week. In these meetings, I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of Truth; and my heart was enlarged in the meeting of ministers, meeting of business, and in several meetings for public worship; and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting.

On the 15th day of the month I left London, and went to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford.

The 1st day of the seventh month. I have been at Quarterly Meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury and Shipton, and had sundry meetings between. My mind has been bowed under a sense of Divine goodness manifested amongst us; my heart being often enlarged in true love, both amongst ministers and elders, and in public meetings; and through the Lord's good-

ness, I believe it has been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth.

The 17th day of the month. Was this day at Birmingham: have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places; I have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me, and through his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

The 26th day of the month. I have continued travelling northward visiting meetings: was this day at Nottingham; which, in the forenoon especially, was through Divine love a heart-tendering season: next day had a meeting with Friends' children and some Friends; this, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

The 2d day of the eighth month, and first of the week, was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town: I have been at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that Divine support, which hath been graciously extended to me.

The 9th day of the month, and first of the week, was at Rushworth: have lately passed through some painful labour; but I have been comforted, under a sense of that Divine visitation, which I feel extended toward many young people.

The 16th day of the month, the first of the week, was at Settle: it has of late been a time of inward poverty; under which, my mind has been preserved in a watchful tender state, feeling for the mind of the holy Leader, and find peace in the labours I have passed through.

On inquiry, in many places, I find the price of rye about five shillings, and wheat about eight shillings, per bushel; oatmeal twelve shillings for an hundred and

twenty pounds; mutton from three-pence to five-pence per pound; bacon, from seven-pence to nine-pence; cheese, from four-pence to six-pence; butter, from eight-pence to ten-pence; house-rent, for a poor man, from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for fire, very scarce and dear; coal, in some places, two shillings and six-pence per hundred weight; but near the pits, not a quarter so much. O, may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties toward London, are ten-pence per day in common business, the employer finds small-beer, and the labourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay time, wages are about one shilling per day, and the labourer has all his diet. In some parts of the north of England, poor labouring men have their food where they work; and appear, in common, to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women, who spin in the factories, get some four-pence, some five-pence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine or ten-pence per day, and find their own house-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the southern parts of England, and some in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not even taught to read. May those who have plenty, lay these things to heart!

Stage-coaches frequently go upwards of an hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard Friends say, in several places, that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and many others are driven until they grow blind.

Post-boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter: some boys who ride long stages, suffer greatly during winter nights; and at several

places I have heard of their being frozen to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quick and to gain wealth, the creation at this day doth loudly groan!

As my journey has been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in stage-coaches; but have not been in them; nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts, in the present way of their riding; the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependant on another as to time, that they commonly go upward of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and in the cold long winter nights, the poor boys suffer much.

I heard in America of the way of these posts; and cautioned Friends in the General Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, and in the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at London, not to send letters to me on any common occasion by post. And though on this account, I may be likely to hear more seldom from my family left behind, yet for righteousness sake, I am through Divine favour made content.

I have felt great distress of mind, since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of business and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves! and in loading these ships, abundance of people are employed in the factories; amongst whom are many of our Society. Friends in early times refused on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record: but for want of faithfulness some gave way, even some whose examples were of note in our Society; and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold

them; and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length, Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their houses; and this has spread from less to more, until superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

In this declining state, many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years, a deep exercise has attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter, and get down to the Rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound. I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the Truth, keep in that tenderness of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only on the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will set an example of a plain frugal life, and pay wages to such whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

The 23d day of the month; was this day at Preston-Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of Friends, who had sundry things about them which had the appearance of outward greatness; and as I have kept inward, way has opened for conversation with such in private, in which Divine goodness has favoured us together with heart-tendering times.

The 26th day of the month. Being now at George Crosfield's, in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing, that which to me hath been a case uncommon.

In a time of sickness with the pleurisy, a little upward of two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death, that I forgot my name: being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour, between the south and the east; and was informed, that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be, and live; and that I was mixed in with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard before. I believed it was the voice of an angel, who spake to the other angels, and the words were these, John Woolman is dead. I soon remembered that I once was John Woolman; and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean.

I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel; but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines, where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians; and I heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved; for his name to me was precious.

Then I was informed, that these heathen were told, that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ; and they said amongst themselves, If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant.

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery; and in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bed-side, I asked them if they knew who I was; and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was

light-headed: for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one; but was very desirous to get so deep, that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry, that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture, and as I lay still for a time, at length I felt Divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak; and then I said, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

Then the mystery was opened; and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented; and that that language (John Woolman is dead) meant no more than the death of my own will.

Soon after this I coughed, and raised much bloody matter; which I had not done during this vision: and now my natural understanding returned as before. Here I saw, that people getting silver vessels to set off their tables at entertainments, was often stained with worldly glory; and that in the present state of things, I should take heed how I fed myself out of silver vessels.

Soon after my recovery, going to our Monthly Meeting, I dined at a Friend's house where drink was brought in silver vessels, and not in any other; and wanting some drink, I told him my case with weeping; and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel.

The like I afterwards went through in several Friends' houses in America, and have also in England, since I came here: and have cause, with humble reverence, to acknowledge the loving-kindness of my heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind,

that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that occasion.

After this sickness, I spake not in public meetings for worship for nearly one year; but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves, as I sat in meetings: and though under this dispensation, I was shut up from speaking, yet the spring of the Gospel ministry was many times livingly opened in me; and the Divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppression of this people. It being long since I passed through this dispensation, and the matter remaining fresh and livingly in my mind, I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

The 30th day of the month. This morning I wrote a letter, in substance as follows:

"Beloved friend,

"My mind is often affected as I pass along, under a sense of the state of many poor people, who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; and the loving-kindness of our heavenly Father, in opening a pure Gospel ministry in this nation, hath often raised thankfulness in my heart to him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift, uninterrupted by outward laws, as a trust committed to us, which requires our deepest gratitude, and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern, that the work of reformation, so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past, may go forward and spread amongst the nations; and may not go backward, through dust gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work so great and so precious.

"Last evening I had a little opportunity at thy house with some of thy family in thy absence, in which I rejoiced; and feeling a sweetness on my mind toward thee, I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

"I have heard that in these parts, you had, at certain seasons meetings of conference, in relation to Friends living up to our principles, in which several meetings unite in one; with which I feel unity. I have in some measure, felt Truth lead that way amongst Friends in America; and have found, my dear friend, that in these labours, all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love toward thee, in which there is freedom.

"I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee, with awfulness before Him who gave it; and feel a care, that we may be so separated to the Gospel of Christ, that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world, may have no place amongst us.

"Thy friend,

JOHN WOOLMAN."

I rested a few days, in body and mind, with our friend Jane Crosfield, who was once in America: was on the sixth day of the week, at Kendal in Westmoreland; and at Grayrig meeting the 30th day of the month, and first of the week.

I have known poverty of late, and been graciously supported to keep in the patience; and am thankful, under a sense of the goodness of the Lord toward those that are of a contrite spirit.

The 6th day of the ninth month and first of the week; was this day at Counterside, a large meeting-house and

very full: and through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

The 13th day of the month. Was this day at Richmond, a small meeting; but the town's people coming in, the house was crowded: it was a time of heavy labour; and I believe was a profitable meeting.

At this place I heard that my kinsman William Hunt from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the 9th day of the ninth month instant, of the smallpox, at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth; and his labours therein were of good savour. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony, that his concern was, in that visit, to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully, that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself; which words, joined with his example, were a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late travelled often in wet weather, through narrow streets in towns and villages, where there were dirtiness under foot, and the scent arising from that filth, which more or less infects the air of all thickly settled towns; and being but weakly, I have felt distress both in body and mind, with that which is impure.

In these journeys I have been where much cloth has been dyed; and sundry times walked over ground, where much of the dye stuffs has drained away. I have felt a longing in my mind, that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments.

Some who are great, carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye.

and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, travelling in dirtiness and affected with unwholesome scents, a strong desire that the practice of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered.

To hide dirt in our garments, appears opposite to real cleanliness.

To wash garments and keep them sweet, appears cleanly.

Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments, a spirit which would cover that which is disagreeable, is strengthened.

Real cleanness becometh a holy people: but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments, appears contrary to the sweetness of sincerity.

Through some sorts of dyes, cloth is less useful; and if the value of dye-stuffs, the expense of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth were all added together, and that expense applied to keep all sweet and clean, how much more cleanly would people be.

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the use of such who are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of peace, and we being no more than ministers, I find it necessary for us, not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof, in the appointment of meetings.

I felt a concern in America, to prepare for this voyage; and being through the mercy of God brought safely here, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent, and for several weeks at first, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raising of a gate in a water

course, where a weight of water lay upon it; and in these labours there appeared a fresh visitation to many, especially the youth; but sometimes after this, I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to appoint meetings.

In this state I was exercised to abide in the pure life of Truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine Leader under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of Truth hath risen higher in some meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America, to come on a visit to England; but upon the fresh instructions of Christ the Prince of peace, from day to day.

Now of late, I felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quickly one after another as I have heretofore.

The work of the ministry being a work of Divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments.

O how deep is Divine wisdom! Christ puts forth his ministers, and goeth before them; and oh how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely!

Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the Gospel ministry, their states are opened to his servants.

Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging.

Oh that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings, may proceed in the pure feeling of duty.

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up, but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of Truth has been so pressed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place, in which are stones here and there, safe to step on; but so situated that one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next.

I find that in the pure obedience, the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world; and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place, rightly exercised under the cross, will find nourishment.

The gift is pure, and while the eye is single in attending thereto, the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out; and we rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, for his body's sake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations; and if there is not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure Gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks and walk in the light, not of Christ who is under suffering, but of that fire, which

they going from the gift have kindled. And that in hearers which is gone from the meek suffering state into the worldly wisdom, may be warmed with this fire, and speak highly of these labours. That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the ministers amongst us may be preserved in the meek, feeling life of Truth, where we may have no desire, but to follow Christ and be with him; that when he is under suffering we may suffer with him; and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as he by the virtue of his own spirit may raise us.

A few days after writing these considerations, our dear friend in the course of his religious visit, came to the city of York, and attended most of the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting there; but before it was over, was taken ill of the smallpox. Our friend Thomas Priestman and others who attended him, preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness, and of his decease.

First-day, the 27th of the ninth month, 1772. His disorder appeared to be the smallpox: being asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to his will who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him. But a young man an apothecary coming of his

own accord the next day, and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other Friends about him, and if any thing should be proposed, as to medicine, that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

Second-day. He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little, and but as a child; and desired if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against.

Third-day he uttered the following prayer. "O Lord my God, the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, thy will O Father be done."

Fourth-day morning, being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, I don't know that I have slept this night. I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace.—Sometime after he said he was sensible the pains of death

must be hard to bear, but if he escaped them now, he must some time pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, and had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the Divine protection; adding, "and though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." A little after he said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; for if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder, but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night a young woman having given him something to drink, he said, "My child thou seems very kind to me a poor creature, the Lord will reward thee for it." Awhile after he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, "Oh my Father! my Father!" and soon after he said, "Oh my Father! my Father! how comfortable art thou to my soul in this trying season." Being asked if he could take a little nourishment, after some pause he replied, "My child I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his Journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind. I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles; but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for." He said he had laboured to do whatever was required, according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and though the disorder was strong at times, and would like a whirl-

wind come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept steady and centered in everlasting love; adding, "and if that be mercifully continued, I ask or desire no more." Another time he said, he had long had a view of visiting this nation, and sometime before he came had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and that the spring of the Gospel was opened in him much as in the beginning of Friends, such as George Fox and William Dewsbury; and he saw the different states of the people, as clearly as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears which wakened him.

At another time he said, "my draught seemed strongest towards the North, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting, that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there looked like home to me."

Fifth-day night, having repeatedly consented to take medicine with a view to settle his stomach, but without effect; the Friend then waiting on him, said through distress, What shall I do now? He answered with great composure, "Rejoice ever more, and in every thing give thanks;" but added a little after, "this is sometimes hard to come at."

Sixth-day morning early, he broke forth in supplication on this wise, "O Lord, it was thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruises for disobedience, but as I bowed under them thou healed me, continuing a father and a friend. I feel thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto thee."—Upon his giving directions to a friend concerning some little things, she said I will take care, but hope thou wilt

live to order them thyself; he replied, "my hope is in Christ, and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved, and if so it happens, I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time; he said, "all good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and can work as he sees best." The same day he had given directions about wrapping his corpse; and perceiving a Friend to weep, he said "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over and matters well settled, and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is his voice and his countenance is comely."

First-day, 4th of the tenth month, being very weak and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness; and added, "how tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say in Job's words, 'Tedious days and wearisome nights are appointed unto me;' and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their distresses at such a time as this, in some degree softened by the administering suitable things."

Second-day morning, the apothecary who appeared very anxious to assist him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body, and the apothecary making some remarks implying that he thought it might; he

spoke with an audible voice on this wise, "My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for, and if it be his will to raise up this body again, I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; and if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit:" after which his throat was so much affected, that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the second hour on fourth-day morning he asked for pen and ink, and at several times with much difficulty wrote thus, "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ, I know not as to life or death."

About a quarter before six o'clock the same morning he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan or struggle.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES;

RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1754.

INTRODUCTION.

Customs generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors, become like the natural produce of a soil, especially when they are suited to favourite inclinations: but as the judgments of God are without partiality, by which the state of the soul must be tried, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the measures of the soul by the infallible standard, Truth.

Natural affection needs a careful examination; operating upon us in a soft manner, it kindles desires of love and tenderness, and there is danger of taking it for something higher. To me it appears an instinct like that which inferior creatures have; each of them, we see, by the ties of nature, love self best; that which is a part of self, they love by the same tie or instinct. In them it in some measure does the offices of reason, by which, among other things, they watchfully keep and regularly feed their helpless offspring. Thus natural affection appears to be a branch of self-love, good in the animal

race, and in us likewise, with proper limitations; but otherwise it is productive of evil, by exciting desires to promote some by means prejudicial to others.

Our blessed Saviour seems to give a check to this irregular fondness in nature, and at the same time, a precedent for us: "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" thereby intimating that the earthly ties of relationship are comparatively inconsiderable to such, who through a steady course of obedience, have come to the happy experience of the Spirit of God bearing witness with their spirits that they are his children:—"And he stretched forth his hands towards his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren: For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, (arrives at the more noble part of true relationship) the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

This doctrine agrees well with a state truly complete, where love necessarily operates according to the agreeableness of things, on principles unalterable and in themselves perfect.

If endeavouring to have my children eminent amongst men after my death, be that which no reasons grounded on those principles can be brought to support; then to be temperate in my pursuit after gain, and to keep always within the bounds of those principles, is an indispensable duty, and to depart from it, a dark unfruitful toil.

In our present condition, to love our children is needful; but except this love proceeds from the true heavenly principle which sees beyond earthly treasures, it will rather be injurious than of any real advantage to them: where the fountain is corrupt, the streams must necessarily be impure.

That important injunction of our Saviour, Matt. vi, 33, with the promise annexed, contains a short but comprehensive view of our duty and happiness:—If then the business of mankind in this life, is first to seek another; if this cannot be done but by attending to the means; if a summary of the means is, not to do that to another which, in like circumstances, we would not have done unto us, then these are points of moment, and worthy of our most serious consideration.

What I write on this subject is with reluctance, and the hints given are in as general terms as my concern would allow. I know it is a point about which, in all its branches, men that appear to aim well are not generally agreed; and for that reason I chose to avoid being very particular. If I may happily let drop any thing that may excite such as are concerned in the practice to a close thinking on the subject treated of, the candid amongst them may easily do the subject such further justice, as on an impartial inquiry it may appear to deserve; and such an inquiry I would earnestly recommend.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

"Forasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."—Matt. xxv, 40.

As many times there are different motives to the same action; and one does that from a generous heart, which another does for selfish ends; the like may be said in this case.

There are various circumstances among those that keep negroes, and different ways by which they fall under their care; and I doubt not, there are many well-disposed persons amongst them who desire rather to manage wisely and justly in this difficult matter, than to make gain of it.

But the general disadvantage which these poor Africans lie under in an enlightened Christian country, having often filled me with real sadness, and been like undigested matter on my mind, I now think it my duty, through Divine aid, to offer some thoughts thereon to the consideration of others.

When we remember that all nations are of one blood, Gen. iii, 20, that in this world we are but sojourners, that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment, and that the all-wise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an idea of general brotherhood, and

a disposition easy to be touched with a feeling of each other's afflictions: but when we forget those things, and look chiefly at our outward circumstances, in this and some ages past, constantly retaining in our minds the distinction between us and them, with respect to our knowledge and improvement in things Divine, natural and artificial, our breasts being apt to be filled with fond notions of superiority, there is danger of erring in our conduct toward them.

We allow them to be of the same species with ourselves; the odds is, we are in a higher station, and enjoy greater favours than they. And when it is thus that our heavenly Father endoweth some of his children with distinguished gifts, they are intended for good ends; but if those thus gifted are thereby lifted up above their brethren, not considering themselves as debtors to the weak, nor behaving themselves as faithful stewards, none who judge impartially can suppose them free from ingratitude.

When a people dwell under the liberal distribution of favours from heaven, it behoves them carefully to inspect their ways, and consider the purposes for which those favours are bestowed, lest, through forgetfulness of God and misusing his gifts, they incur his heavy displeasure, whose judgments are just and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the dust, as he seeth meet.

It appears, by Holy Record, that men under high favours have been apt to err in their opinions concerning others. Thus Israel, according to the description of the prophet, Isa. lxv, 5, when exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were the chosen people of God; and could say, "Stand by thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou." That this was

no chance language, but their common opinion of other people, more fully appears, by considering the circumstances which attended when God was beginning to fulfil his precious promises concerning the gathering of the Gentiles.

The Most High, in a vision undeceived Peter, first prepared his heart to believe, and at the house of Cornelius showed him of a certainty, that God is no respecter of persons.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost upon a people, with whom they, the Jewish Christians would not so much as eat, was strange to them. All they of the circumcision were astonished to see it; and the apostles and brethren of Judea contended with Peter about it, till he having rehearsed the whole matter, and fully shown that the Father's love was unlimited, they are thereat struck with admiration, and cry out, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

The opinion of peculiar favours being confined to them, was deeply rooted, or else the above instance had been less strange to them for these reasons: First, They were generally acquainted with the writings of the prophets, by whom this time was repeatedly spoken of, and pointed at. Secondly, Our blessed Lord shortly before expressly said, "I have other sheep not of this fold, them also must I bring," &c. Lastly, His words to them after his resurrection, at the very time of his ascension, "Ye shall be witnesses to me, not only in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, but to the uttermost parts of the earth."

These concurring circumstances, one would think, might have raised a strong expectation of seeing such a time; yet when it came, it proved matter of offence and astonishment.

To consider mankind otherwise than brethren, to think favours are peculiar to one nation, and to exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding: for as God's love is universal, so where the mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards all men. Again, to conclude a people froward, perverse, and worse by nature than others, who ungratefully receive favours, and apply them to bad ends, will excite a behaviour toward them unbecoming the excellence of true religion.

To prevent such an error, let us calmly consider their circumstance: and the better to do it, make their case ours. Suppose then that our ancestors and we had been exposed to constant servitude, in the more servile and inferior employments of life; that we had been destitute of the help of reading and good company; that amongst ourselves we had had but few wise and pious instructers; that the religious amongst our superiors seldom took notice of us; that while others in ease have plentifully heaped up the fruit of our labour, we had received barely enough to relieve nature; and being wholly at the command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant part of mankind, should we in that case be less abject than they now are? Again, If oppression be so hard to bear, that a wise man is made mad by it, Eccl. vii, 7, then a series of oppressions altering the behaviour and manners of a people, is what may reasonably be expected.

When our property is taken contrary to our mind, by means appearing to us unjust, it is only through Divine influence, and the enlargement of heart from thence proceeding, that we can love our reputed oppressors. If the negroes fall short in this, an uneasy, if not a discon-

solate disposition will be awakened, and remain like seeds in their minds, producing sloth and other habits which appear odious to us; and with which, had they been free men, they would not perhaps have been chargeable. These and other circumstances rightly considered, will lessen the too great disparity which some make between us and them.

Integrity of heart has appeared in some of them; so that if we continue in the word of Christ (previous to discipleship, John viii, 31,) and our conduct towards them be seasoned with his love, we may hope to see the good effect of it. This, in a good degree, is the case with some into whose hands they have fallen; but that too many treat them otherwise, not seeming conscious of any neglect, is alas! too evident.

When self-love presides in our minds, our opinions are biassed in our own favour; and in this condition, being concerned with a people so situated, that they have no voice to plead their own cause, there is danger of using ourselves to an undisturbed partiality, until by long custom, the mind becomes reconciled with it, and the judgment itself infected.

To apply humbly to God for wisdom, that we may thereby be enabled to see things as they are, and as they ought to be, is very needful. Hereby the hidden things of darkness may be brought to light, and the judgment made clear: we shall then consider mankind as brethren. Though different degrees and a variety of qualifications and abilities, one dependant on another, be admitted, yet high thoughts will be laid aside, and all men treated as becometh the sons of one father, agreeably to the doctrine of Christ Jesus.

"He hath laid down the best criterion, by which man

kind ought to judge of their own conduct, and others judge for them of theirs, one towards another, viz: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.' I take it, that all men by nature, are equally entitled to the equity of this rule, and under the indispensable obligations of it. One man ought not to look upon another man or society of men, as so far beneath him, that he should not put himself in their place, in all his actions towards them, and bring all to this test, viz. How should I approve of this conduct, were I in their circumstance, and they in mine?"

This doctrine being of a moral unchangeable nature, hath been likewise inculcated in the former dispensation; "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." Had these people come voluntarily and dwelt amongst us, to call them strangers would be proper; and their being brought by force, with regret and a languishing mind, may well raise compassion in a heart rightly disposed: but there is nothing in such treatment, which upon a wise and judicious consideration, will in any way lessen their right to be treated as strangers. If the treatment which many of them meet with, be rightly examined and compared with those precepts, "Thou shalt not vex him nor oppress him; he shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself," there will appear an important difference between them.

It may be objected that there is the cost of purchase, and risk of their lives to those who possess them, and therefore it is needful that they make the best use of their time. In a practice just and reasonable, such objections may have weight; but if the work be wrong

from the beginning, there is little or no force in them. If I purchase a man who has never forfeited his liberty, the natural right of freedom is in him; and shall I keep him and his posterity in servitude and ignorance? "How should I approve of this conduct, were I in his circumstances, and he in mine?" It may be thought, that to treat them as we would willingly be treated, our gain by them would be inconsiderable: and it were, in divers respects, better that there were none in our country.

We may further consider, that they are now amongst us, and people of our nation were the cause of their being here; that whatsoever difficulty accrues thereon, we are justly chargeable with, and to bear all inconveniences attending it with a serious and weighty concern of mind to do our duty by them, is the best we can do. To seek a remedy by continuing the oppression, because we have power to do it, and see others do it, will, I apprehend, not be doing as we would be done by.

How deeply soever men are involved in difficulties, sincerity of heart, and upright walking before God, freely submitting to his providence, is the most sure remedy. He only is able to relieve, not only persons but nations in their greatest calamities.

David in a great strait, when the sense of his past error, and the full expectation of an impending calamity as the reward of it were united to aggravate his distress, after some deliberation, saith, "Let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great are his mercies; let me not fall into the hand of man."

To act continually with integrity of heart, above all narrow or selfish motives, is a sure token of our being partakers of that salvation which "God hath appointed for walls and bulwarks," and is, beyond all contradic-

tion, a more happy situation than can ever be promised by the utmost reach of art and power united, not proceeding from heavenly wisdom.

A supply to nature's lawful wants, joined with a peaceful humble mind, is the truest happiness in this life; and if we arrive at this, and continue to walk in the path of the just, our case will be truly happy. Though herein we may part with, or miss of the glaring show of riches, and leave our children little else but wise instructions, a good example, and the knowledge of some honest employment; these, with the blessing of Providence, are sufficient for their happiness, and are more likely to prove so, than laying up treasures for them, which are often rather a snare, than any real benefit; especially to those, who instead of being exampled to temperance, are in all things taught to prefer the getting of riches, and to eye the temporal distinctions they give, as the principal business of this life. These readily overlook the true happiness of man, which results from the enjoyment of all things in the fear of God, and miserably substituting an inferior good, dangerous in the acquiring and uncertain in the fruition, they are subject to many disappointments, and every sweet carries its sting.

It is the conclusion of our blessed Lord and his apostles, as appears by their lives and doctrines, that the highest delights of sense, or most pleasing objects visible, ought ever to be accounted infinitely inferior to that real intellectual happiness, suited to man in his primitive innocence, and now to be found in true renovation of mind; and that the comforts of our present life, the things most grateful to us, ought always to be received with temperance, and never made the chief objects of our desire, hope or love; but that our whole heart and

affections be principally looking to that "city, which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God." Do we so improve the gifts bestowed on us, that our children might have an education suited to these doctrines, and our example to confirm it, we might rejoice in hopes of their being heirs of an inheritance incorruptible.

This inheritance, as Christians, we esteem the most valuable; and how then can we fail to desire it for our children? O that we were consistent with ourselves, in pursuing the means necessary to obtain it!

It appears by experience, that where children are educated in fulness, ease, and idleness, evil habits are more prevalent, than is common amongst such who are prudently employed in the necessary affairs of life. If children are not only educated in the way of so great temptation, but have also the opportunity of lording it over their fellow-creatures, and being masters of men in their childhood, how can we hope otherwise than that their tender minds will be possessed with thoughts too high for them; which gaining strength by continuance, will prove like a slow current, gradually separating them from or keeping from acquaintance with that humility and meekness in which alone lasting happiness can be enjoyed.

Man is born to labour, and experience abundantly showeth, that it is for our good: but where the powerful lay the burthen on the inferior, without affording a Christian education, and suitable opportunity of improving the mind, and a treatment which we, in their case, should approve, in order that themselves may live at ease, and fare sumptuously, and lay up riches for their posterity, this seems to contradict the design of Providence, and I doubt not, is sometimes the effect of a per-

verted mind; for while the life of one is made grievous by the rigour of another, it entails misery on both.

Amongst the manifold works of Providence, displayed in the different ages of the world, these which follow, with many others, may afford instruction.

Abraham was called of God to leave his country and kindred, to sojourn amongst strangers. Through famine, and danger of death, he was forced to flee from one kingdom to another; yet, at length, he not only had assurance of being the father of many nations, but became a mighty prince. Genesis xxiii, 6.

Remarkable were the dealings of God with Jacob in a low estate, the just sense he retained of them after his advancement, appears by his words: "I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies."

The numerous afflictions of Joseph are very singular; the particular Providence of God therein, no less manifest: he at length became governor of Egypt, and famous for wisdom and virtue.

The series of troubles which David passed through, few amongst us are ignorant of; and yet he afterwards became as one of the great men of the earth.

Some evidences of the Divine wisdom appear in those things, in that such who are intended for high stations, have first been very low and dejected, that Truth might be sealed on their hearts; and that the characters there imprinted by bitterness and adversity, might in after years remain, suggesting compassionate ideas, and in their prosperity, quicken their regard to those in the like condition. This yet further appears in the case of Israel; who were well acquainted with grievous sufferings, a long and rigorous servitude; and then through many notable events, were made chief amongst the nations.

To them we find a repetition of precepts to the purpose abovesaid: though for ends agreeable to infinite wisdom, they were chosen as a peculiar people for a time; yet the Most High acquaints them, that his love is not confined, but extends to the stranger; and to excite their compassion, reminds them of times past, "Ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Again, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

If we call to mind our beginning, some of us may find a time, wherein our fathers were under afflictions, reproaches, and manifold sufferings.

Respecting our progress in this land, the time is short since our beginning was small and number few, compared with the native inhabitants. He that sleeps not by day nor night, hath watched over us, and kept us as the apple of his eye. His Almighty arm hath been round about us, and saved us from dangers.

The wilderness and solitary deserts in which our fathers passed the days of their pilgrimage, are now turned into pleasant fields; the natives are gone from before us, and we established peaceably in the possession of the land, enjoying our civil and religious liberties; and while many parts of the world have groaned under the heavy calamities of war, our habitation remains quiet, and our land fruitful.

When we trace back the steps we have trodden, and see how the Lord hath opened a way in the wilderness for us, to the wise it will easily appear, that all this was not done to be buried in oblivion; but to prepare a people for more fruitful returns, and the remembrance thereof ought to humble us in prosperity, and excite in us a Christian benevolence towards our inferiors.

If we do not consider these things aright, but through a stupid indolence, conceive views of interest separate from the general good of the great brotherhood, and in pursuance thereof, treat our inferiors with rigour to increase our wealth, and gain riches for our children; "What then shall we do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall we answer him? did not he that made us, make them? and did not one fashion us?"

To our great Master we stand or fall, to judge or condemn us as is most suitable to his wisdom or authority my inclination is to persuade, and entreat, and simply give hints of my way of thinking.

If the Christian religion be considered, both respecting its doctrines, and the happy influence which it hath on the minds and manners of all real Christians, it looks reasonable to think, that the miraculous manifestation thereof to the world, is a kindness beyond expression.

Are we the people thus favoured? Are we they whose minds are opened, influenced, and governed by the Spirit of Christ, and thereby made sons of God? Is it not a fair conclusion, that we, like our heavenly Father, ought in our degree to be active in the same great cause, of the eternal happiness of, at least our whole families, and more, if thereto capacitated?

If we, by the operation of the Spirit of Christ, become heirs with him in the kingdom of his Father, and are redeemed from the alluring counterfeit joys of this world, and the joy of Christ remain in us, to suppose that one in this happy condition, can, for the sake of earthly riches, not only deprive his fellow-creatures of the sweetness of freedom, which rightly used, is one of the greatest temporal blessings, but therewith neglect using proper means for their acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures,

and the advantage of true religion, seems at least a contradiction to reason.

Whoever rightly advocates the cause of some, thereby promotes the good of all. The state of mankind was harmonious in the beginning, and though sin hath introduced discord, yet through the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the way is open for our redemption, and means appointed to restore us to primitive harmony. That if one suffer by the unfaithfulness of another, the mind, the most noble part of him that occasions the discord, is thereby alienated from its true and real happiness.

Our duty and interest are inseparably united, and when we neglect or misuse our talents, we necessarily depart from the heavenly fellowship, and are in the way to the greatest of evils.

Therefore to examine and prove ourselves, to find what harmony the power presiding in us bears with the Divine nature, is a duty not more incumbent and necessary, than it would be beneficial.

In Holy Writ the Divine Being saith of himself, "I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." Again, speaking in the way of man, to show his compassion to Israel, whose wickedness had occasioned a calamity, and then being humbled under it, it is said, "His soul was grieved for their miseries." If we consider the life of our blessed Saviour when on earth, as it is recorded by his followers, we shall find that one uniform desire for the eternal and temporal good of mankind, discovered itself in all his actions.

If we observe men, both apostles and others, in many

different ages, who have really come to the unity of the Spirit, and the fellowship of the saints, there still appears the like disposition, and in them the desire for the real happiness of mankind, has out-balanced the desire of ease, liberty, and many times, of life itself.

If upon a true search, we find that our natures are so far renewed, that to exercise righteousness and loving-kindness, according to our ability, towards all men, without respect of persons, is easy to us, or is our delight; if our love be so orderly and regular, that he who doeth the will of our Father who is in heaven, appears in our view to be our nearest relation, our brother, and sister, and mother; if this be our case, there is a good foundation to hope, that the blessing of God will sweeten our treasures during our stay in this life, and that our memory will be savoury, when we are entered into rest.

To conclude, It is a truth most certain, that a life guided by wisdom from above, agreeably with justice, equity and mercy, is throughout consistent and amiable, and truly beneficial to society; the serenity and calmness of mind in it, affords an unparalleled comfort in this life, and the end of it is blessed.

And it is no less true, that they who in the midst of high favours remain ungrateful, and under all the advantages that a Christian can desire, are selfish, earthly and sensual, do miss the true fountain of happiness, and wander in a maze of dark anxiety, where all their treasures are insufficient to quiet their minds: hence from an insatiable craving, they neglect doing good with what they have acquired, and too often add oppression to vanity, that they may compass more.

"O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!"

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES;

RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

PART THE SECOND.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1762.

"Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great: ye shall not be afraid of the face of man: for the judgment is God's." Deut. i, 17.

PREFACE.

ALL our actions are of like nature with their root; and the Most High weigheth them more skilfully than men can weigh them one for another.

I believe that one Supreme Being made and supports the world; nor can I worship any other Deity without being an idolater, and guilty of wickedness.

Many nations have believed in and worshipped a plurality of deities; but I do not believe they were therefore all wicked. Idolatry indeed is wickedness; but it is the thing, not the name, which is so. Real idolatry is to pay that adoration to a creature, which is known to be due only to the true God.

He who professeth to believe in one Almighty Creator,

and in his Son Jesus Christ, and yet is more intent on the honours, profits and friendships of the world, than he is in singleness of heart to stand faithful to the Christian religion, is in the channel of idolatry; while the Gentile, who under some mistaken opinions, is notwithstanding established in the true principle of virtue, and humbly adores an Almighty power, may be of that number who fear God and work righteousness.

I believe the bishop of Rome assumes a power that does not belong to any officer in the church of Christ; and if I should knowingly do any thing tending to strengthen him in that capacity, it would be great iniquity. There are many thousands of people, who by their profession acknowledge him to be the representative of Jesus Christ on earth; and to say that none of them are upright in heart, would be contrary to my sentiments.

Men who sincerely apply their minds to true virtue, and find an inward support from above, by which all vicious inclinations are made subject; that they love God sincerely, and prefer the real good of mankind universally to their own private interest; though these through the strength of education and tradition, may remain under some speculative and great errors, it would be uncharitable to say, that therefore God rejects them. He who creates, supports and gives understanding to all men, possesses knowledge and goodness superior to the various cases and circumstances of his creatures, which to us appear the most difficult.

The apostles and primitive Christians did not censure all the Gentiles as wicked men, Rom. ii, 14; Col. iii, 11; but as they were favoured with a gift to discern things more clearly, respecting the worship of the true God, they with much firmness declared agair st the worshipping

of idols, and with true patience endured many sufferings on that account.

Great numbers of faithful Protestants have contended for the Truth, in opposition to papal errors; and with true fortitude laid down their lives in the conflict, without saying, that no man was saved who made profession of that religion.

While we have no right to keep men as servants for term of life, but that of superior power; to do this with design to profit ourselves and our families by their labour, I believe is wrong; but I do not believe that all who have kept slaves, have therefore been chargeable with guilt. If their motives thereto were free from selfishness, and their slaves contented, they were a sort of freemen; which I believe hath sometimes been the case.

Whatever a man does in the spirit of charity, to him it is not sin: and while he lives and acts in this spirit, he learns all things essential to his happiness as an individual: and if he doth not see that any injury or injustice to any other person, is necessarily promoted by any part of his form of government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay iniquity to his charge. Yet others, who live in the same spirit of charity, from a clear convincement, may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on them to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

As some in most religious societies amongst the English are concerned in importing or purchasing the inhabitants of Africa as slaves; and as the professors of Christianity of several other nations do the like; these circumstances tend to make people less apt to examine the practice as closely as they would, if such a thing had not been, but was now proposed to be entered upon. It is however our duty, and what concerns us individually, as creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the understanding which he hath given us, in humbly endeavouring to be acquainted with his will concerning us, and with the nature and tendency of those things which we practise. For as justice remains to be justice, so many people of reputation in the world, joining with wrong things, does not excuse others in joining with them, nor make the consequence of their proceedings less dreadful in the final issue, than it would otherwise be.

Where unrighteousness is justified from one age to another, it is like dark matter gathering into clouds over us. We may know that this gloom will remain till the cause be removed by a reformation, or a change of times, and may feel a desire from a love of equity, to speak on the occasion; yet where error is so strong, that it may not be spoken against without a prospect of some inconvenience to the speaker, this difficulty is likely to operate on our weakness, and quench the good desires in us;

except we dwell so steadily under the weight of it, as to be made willing to "endure hardness" on that account.

Where men exert their talents against vices which are generally accounted such, the ill effects whereof are presently perceived in a government, all men who regard their own temporal good, are likely to approve the work. But when that which is inconsistent with perfect equity, has the law or the countenance of the great in its favour, though the tendency thereof be contrary to the true happiness of mankind, in an equal if not greater degree, than many things accounted reproachful to Christians; yet as these ill effects are not generally perceived, they who labour to dissuade from such things, which people believe accord with their interest, have many difficulties to encounter.

The repeated charges which God gave to his prophets, imply the danger they were in of erring on this hand. "Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord." "Speak all the words that I command thee to speak to them; diminish not a word." "And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, nor dismayed at their looks. Speak my words to them, whether they will hear or forbear."

Under an apprehension of duty, I offer some further considerations on this subject, having endeavoured some years to consider it candidly. I have observed people of our own colour, whose abilities have been inadequate to manage the affairs which relate to their convenient subsistence, who have been taken care of by others, and the profit of such work as they could do, applied toward their support. I believe there are such amongst negroes; and that some people in whose hands they are, keep them with no view of outward profit, do not consider

them as black men, who as such ought to serve white men; but account them persons who have need of guardians, and as such take care of them: yet where equal care is taken in all parts of their education, I do not apprehend cases of this sort are likely to occur more frequently amongst one sort of people than another.

It looks to me that the slave trade was founded, and has generally been carried on in a wrong spirit; that the effects of it are detrimental to the real prosperity of our country; and will be more so, except we cease from the common motives of keeping them, and treat them in future agreeably to Truth and pure justice.

Negroes may be imported, who for their cruelty to their countrymen, and the evil disposition of their minds, may be unfit to be at liberty; and if we as lovers of righteousness undertake the management of them, we should have a full and clear knowledge of their crimes, and of those circumstances which might operate in their favour; but the difficulty of obtaining this is so great, that we have great reason to be cautious therein. But should it plainly appear that absolute subjection is a condition the most proper for the person who is purchased, yet the innocent children ought not to be made slaves, because their parents sinned.

We have an account in Holy Scripture of some families suffering, where mention is only made of the heads of the family committing wickedness; and it is likely that the degenerate Jews, misunderstanding some occurrences of this kind, took occasion to charge God with being unequal; so that a saying became common, "The Fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two of the inspired prophets, who lived near the same time, were concerned

to correct this error. Ezekiel is large on the subject.—First, he reproves them for their error. "What mean ye, that ye do so." "As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel." The words, "any more," have reference to time past; intimating, that though they had not rightly understood some things they had heard or seen, and thence supposed the proverb to be well grounded; yet henceforth they might know of a certainty, that the ways of God are all equal; that as surely as the Most High liveth, so surely men are only answerable for their own sins. He thus sums up the matter, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."

Where men are wicked, they commonly are a means of corrupting the succeeding age; and thereby hasten those outward calamities which fall on nations, when their iniquities are full.

Men may pursue means which are not agreeable to perfect purity, with a view to increase the wealth and happiness of their offspring, and thereby make the way of virtue more difficult to them. And though the ill example of a parent, or of a multitude, does not excuse a man in doing evil, yet the mind being early impressed with vicious notions and practices, and nurtured up in ways of getting treasure, which are not the ways of Truth; this wrong spirit first getting possession, and being thus strengthened, frequently prevents a due attention to the true spirit of wisdom, so that they exceed in wickedness those who lived before them. And in this channel

though parents labour, as they think, to forward the happiness of their children, it proves a means of forwarding their calamity. This being the case in the age next before the grievous calamity in the siege of Jerusalem, and carrying Judah captive to Babylon, they might say with propriety, This came upon us, because our fathers forsook God, and because we did worse than our fathers. See Jer. vii, 26.

As the generation next before them inwardly turned away from God, who yet waited to be gracious; and as they in that age continued in those things which necessarily separated from perfect goodness, growing more stubborn till the judgments of God were poured out upon them; they might properly say, "Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquities." And yet, wicked as their fathers were, had they not succeeded them in their wickedness, they had not borne their iniquities.

To suppose it right, that an innocent man shall at this day be excluded from the common rules of justice; be deprived of that liberty which is the natural right of human creatures, and be a slave to others during life, on account of a sin committed by his immediate parents; or a sin committed by Ham, the son of Noah; is a supposition too gross to be admitted into the mind of any person, who sincerely desires to be governed by just and solid principles.

It is alleged in favour of the practice, that Joshua made slaves of the Gibeonites.

What men do by the command of God, and what comes to pass as a consequence of their neglect, are different; the case now mentioned was such as the latter.

It was the express command of the Almighty to Iśrael,

concerning the inhabitants of the promised land, "Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods: they shall not dwell in thy land." Those Gibeonites came craftily, telling Joshua that they were come from a far country; that their elders had sent them to make a league with the people of Israel; and as an evidence of their being foreigners, showed their old clothes, &c.— "And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord; and Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live; and the princes sware to them."

When the imposition was discovered, the congregation murmured against the princes: "But all the princes said to all the congregation, we have sworn to them by the Lord God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us; but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto the congregation."

Omitting to ask counsel, involved them in great difficulty. The Gebonites were of those cities, of which the Lord said, "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth;" and of the stock of the Hivites, concerning whom he commanded by name, "Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them: Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them." Joshua and the princes not knowing them, had made a league with them to let them live; and in this strait they resolved to make them servants. Joshua and the princes suspected them to be deceivers: "Peradventure you dwell amongst us: and how shall we make a league with you?" Which words show that they remembered the command beforementioned; and yet did not inquire at the mouth of the Lord, as Moses directed Joshua, when he gave him a

charge respecting his duty as chief man among that people, Numb. xxvii, 21. By this omission things became so situated, that Joshua and the princes could not execute the judgments of God on them, without violating the oath which they had made.

Moses did amiss at the waters of Meribah, and doubtless he soon repented; for the Lord was with him. And it is likely that Joshua was deeply humbled, under a sense of his omission; for it appears that God continued him in his office, and spared the lives of those people, for the sake of the league and oath made in his name.

The wickedness of these people was great, and they were worthy to die, or perfect justice had not passed sentence of death upon them; and as their execution was prevented by this league and oath, they appear to have been contented to be servants: "As it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do."

These criminals, instead of death, had the sentence of servitude pronounced on them, in these words, "Now therefore ye are cursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God."

We find, Deut. xx, 10, that there were cities far distant from Canaan, against which Israel went to battle, unto whom they were to proclaim peace, and if the inhabitants made answer of peace, and opened their gates, they were not to destroy them, but make them tributaries.

The children of Israel were then the Lord's host, and executioners of his judgments on people hardened in wickedness. They were not to go to battle, but by his appointment. The men who were chief in his army, had their instructions from the Almighty; sometimes immediately, and sometimes by the ministry of angels. Of

these amongst others, were Moses, Joshua, Othniel and Gideon; see Exod. iii, 2, and xviii, 19; Josh. v, 13.—These people far off from Canaan, against whom Israel was sent to battle, were so corrupt, that the Creator of the universe saw it good to change their situation; and in case of their opening their gates, and coming under tribute, this their subjection, though probably more mild than absolute slavery, was to last little or no longer than while Israel remained in the true spirit of government.

It was pronounced by Moses the prophet, as a consequence of their wickedness, "The stranger that is within thee shall get above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low: he shall be the head, and thou the tail."

This we find in some measure verified in their being made tributaries to the Moabites, Midianites, Amorites and Philistines.

It is alleged in favour of the practice of slave-keeping, that the Jews by their law made slaves of the heathen. "Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn amongst you, of them shall ye buy, and of their children which are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession; and you shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them as a possession, they shall be your bondmen for ever." It is difficult for us to have a certain knowledge of the mind of Moses, in regard to keeping slaves, in any other way than by looking upon him as a true servant of God, whose mind and conduct were regulated by an inward principle of justice and equity.—To admit a supposition that he in that case was drawn from perfect equity by the alliance of outward kindred, would be to disown his authority.

Abraham had servants born in his house, and bought

with his money: "And the Almighty said of Abraham, I know him, that he will order his house after him;" which implies, that he was as a father, an instructer, and a good governor of his people. Moses, considered as a man of God, must necessarily have had a prospect of some real advantage in the strangers and heathens being servants to the Israelites for a time.

As mankind had received and established many erroneous and hurtful customs, their living and conversing with the Jews, while the Jews stood faithful to their principles, might be helpful to remove those errors, and reform their manners. But for men, with private views, to assume an absolute power over the persons and properties of others, and to continue it from age to age in the line of natural generation, without regard to the virtues or vices of their successors, as it is manifestly contrary to true universal love, and attended with great evils, it requires the clearest evidence to beget a belief in us, that Moses intended that the strangers should be such slaves to the Jews.

He directed them to buy strangers and sojourners. It appears that there were strangers in Israel who were free men; and considering with what tenderness and humanity the Jews, by their law, were obliged to use their servants, and what care was to be taken to instruct them in the true religion, it is not unlikely that some strangers in poverty and distress were willing to enter into bonds to serve the Jews as long as they lived; and in such case the Jews, by their law, had a right to their service during life.

When the awl was bored through the ear of the Hebrew servant, the text saith, "He shall serve forever;" yet we do not suppose that by the word "for ever," it

was intended that none of his posterity should afterwards be free. When it is said in regard to the strangers which they bought, "They shall be your possession," it may be well understood to mean only the persons so purchased; all that precedes relates to buying them, and what follows to the continuance of their service; "You shall take them as an inheritance to your children after you; they shall be your bondmen for ever." It may be well understood to stand limited to those they purchased.

Moses directing Aaron and his sons to wash their hands and feet, when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation, saith, "It shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and his seed throughout all generations." And to express the continuance of the law, it was his common language, "It shall be a statute forever throughout your generations." So that had he intended the posterity of the strangers so purchased to continue in slavery to the Jews, it looks likely that he would have used some terms clearly to express it. The Jews undoubtedly had slaves, whom they kept as such from one age to another; but that this was agreeable to the genuine design of their inspired law-giver, is far from being a clear case.

Making constructions of the law contrary to the true meaning of it, was common amongst that people. Samuel's sons took bribes, and perverted judgment. Isaiah complained that they justified the wicked for reward. Zephaniah, contemporary with Jeremiah, on account of the injustice of the civil magistrates, declared that those judges were evening wolves; and that the priests did violence to the law.

Jeremiah acquaints us that the priests cried peace, peace, when there was no peace; by which means the

people grew bold in their wickedness; and having committed abominations, were not ashamed; but through wrong constructions of the law, they justified themselves, and boastingly said, "We are wise; and the law of the Lord is with us." These corruptions continued till the days of our Saviour, who told the Pharisees, "You have made the commandment of God of none effect through your tradition."

Thus it appears that they corrupted the law of Moses; nor is it unlikely that among many others this was one; for oppressing the strangers was a heavy charge against the Jews, and very often strongly represented by the Lord's faithful prophets.

That the liberty of man was, by the inspired law-giver esteemed precious, appears in this; that such who unjustly deprived men of it, were to be punished in like manner as if they had murdered them. "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him; or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death." This part of the law was so considerable, that Paul the learned Jew, giving a brief account of the uses of the law, adds this, "It was made for men-stealers."

The great men amongst that people were exceedingly oppressive; and it is likely exerted their whole strength and influence, to have the law construed to suit their turns. The honest servants of the Lord had heavy work with them in regard to their oppression; a few instances follow. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. If you thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbour; if you oppress not the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; and shed not innocent blood in this place;

neither walk after other gods to your hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this place." Again, this message was sent not only to the inferior ministers of justice, but also to the chief ruler. "Thus saith the Lord, go down to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word; execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; neither shed innocent blood in this place." Then adds, "That in so doing they should prosper; but if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation."

The king, the princes, and rulers were agreed in oppression before the Babylonish captivity; for whatever courts of justice were retained amongst them, or however they decided matters between men of estates, it is plain that the cause of the poor was not judged in equity.

It appears that the great men amongst the Jews were fully resolved to have slaves, even of their own brethren, Jer. xxxiv. Notwithstanding the promises and threatenings of the Lord, by the prophet, and their solemn covenant to set them free, confirmed by the imprecation of passing between the parts of a calf cut in twain; intimating by that ceremony, that on breach of the covenant, it were just for their bodies to be so cut in pieces, yet after all, they held fast to their old custom, and called home the servants whom they had set free. "And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me, in the house which is called by my name, but ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, whom he had set at

liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants, and for handmaids: therefore thus saith the Lord, ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his neighbour, and every one to his brother. Behold, I proclaim liberty to you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. The men who transgressed my covenant which they made, and passed between the parts of the calf, I will give into the hands of their enemies, and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth."

Soon after this their city was taken and burnt; the king's sons and the princes slain; and the king, with the chief men of his kingdom, carried captive to Babylon. Ezekiel, prophesying the return of that people to their own land, directs, "Ye shall divide the land by lot, for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn amongst you; in what tribe the stranger sojourns, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." Nor is this particular direction, and the authority with which it is enforced, without a tacit implication, that their ancestors had erred in their conduct towards the stranger.

Some who keep slaves, have doubted as to the equity of the practice; but as they knew men, noted for their piety, who were in it, this, they say, has made their minds easy.

To lean on the example of men in doubtful cases, is difficult: for only admit, that those men were not faithful and upright to the highest degree, but that in some particular case they erred, and it may follow that this one

case was the same, about which we are in doubt; and to quiet our minds by their example, may be dangerous to ourselves; and continuing in it, prove a stumbling-block to tender-minded people who succeed us, in like manner as their examples are to us.

But supposing charity was their only motive, and they not foreseeing the tendency of paying robbers for their booty, were not justly under the imputation of being partners with a thief, Prov. xxix, 24, but were really innocent in what they did, are we assured that we keep them with the same views they kept them? If we keep them from no other motive than a real sense of duty, and true charity governs us in all our proceedings toward them, we are so far safe: but if another spirit, which inclines our minds to the ways of this world, prevails upon us, and we are concerned for our own outward gain more than for their real happiness, it will avail us nothing that some good men have had the care and management of negroes.

Since mankind spread upon the earth, many have been the revolutions attending the several families, and their customs and ways of life different from each other. This diversity of manners, though some are preferable to others, operates not in favour of any, so far as to justify them to do violence to innocent men; to bring them from their own into another way of life. The mind, when moved by a principle of true love, may feel a warmth of gratitude to the universal Father, and a lively sympathy with those nations where Divine Light has been less manifest.

This desire for their real good may beget a willingness to undergo hardships for their sakes, that the true knowledge of God may be spread amongst them: but to take

them from their own land, with views of profit to ourselves, by means inconsistent with pure justice, is foreign to that principle which seeks the happiness of the whole creation. Forced subjection, of innocent persons of full age, is inconsistent with right reason; on one side, the human mind is not naturally fortified with that firmness in wisdom and goodness, necessary to an independent ruler; on the other side, to be subject to the uncontrolled will of a man liable to err, is most painful and afflicting to a conscientious creature.

It is our happiness faithfully to serve the Divine Being who made us: his perfection makes our service reasonable; but so long as men are biassed by narrow self-love, so long they are unfit for absolute power over other men.

Men, taking on them the government of others, may intend to govern reasonably, and make their subjects more happy than they would otherwise be; but as absolute command belongs only to him who is perfect, where frail men, in their own wills, assume such command, it hath a direct tendency to vitiate their minds, and make them more unfit for government.

Placing on men the ignominious title of slave, dressing them in uncomely garments, keeping them to servile labour, in which they are often dirty, tends gradually to fix a notion in the mind, that they are a sort of people below us in nature, and leads us to consider them as such in all our conclusions about them. And moreover, where a person who is mean and contemptible in our esteem, uses language or behaviour toward us which is unseemly or disrespectful, it excites wrath more powerfully than the like conduct in one whom we account our equal or superior; and where this happens to be the case, it disqualifies for candid judgment; for it is unfit for a

person to sit as judge in a case where his own persona. resentments are stirred up; and as members of society in a well-framed government, we are mutually dependent. Present interest incites to duty, and makes each man attentive to the convenience of others; but he whose will is a law to others, and who can enforce obedience by punishment; he whose wants are supplied without feeling any obligation to make equal returns to his benefactor, and whose irregular appetites find an open field for motion, is in danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their convenience who labour for his support, and of losing that disposition, in which alone men are fit to govern.

The English government has been commended by foreigners for the disuse of racks and tortures, so much practised in some states; but this multiplying of slaves leads to cruel tortures; for where people exact hard labour of others, without a suitable reward, and are resolved to continue in that way, severity to such who oppose them becomes the consequence; and several negro criminals among the English in America, have been executed in a lingering painful way, very terrifying to others.

It is a happy case to set out right, and persevere in the same way: a wrong beginning leads into many difficulties; for to support one evil, another becomes customary; two produce more; and the further men proceed in this way, the greater their dangers, their doubts and fears; and the more painful and perplexing are their circumstances; so that such who are true friends to the real and lasting interest of our country, and candidly consider the tendency of things, cannot but feel concern on this account.

There is a superiority in men over the brute creatures, and some of them are so manifestly dependent on men for a living, that for them to serve us in moderation, so far as relates to the right use of things, looks consonant to the design of our Creator.

There is nothing in their frame which argues the contrary; but in men there is. The frame of men's bodies, and the dispositions of their minds are different; some who are tough and strong, and their minds active, choose ways of life requiring much labour to support them; others are soon weary; and though use makes labour more tolerable, yet some are less apt for toil than others, and their minds less sprightly. These latter labouring for their subsistence, commonly choose a mode of life easy to support, being content with a little. When they are weary they may rest, take the most advantageous part of the day for their labour, and in all cases proportion one thing to another, so that their bodies be not oppressed.

Now while each is at liberty, the latter may be as happy, and live as comfortably as the former; but where men of the first sort have the latter under absolute command, and not considering the odds in strength and firmness, do sometimes in their eager pursuit, lay on them burthens grievous to be borne; and by degrees grow more rigorous; these aspiring to greatness, increase oppression, and the true order of a kind Providence is subverted.

There are weaknesses sometimes attending us, which make little or no alteration in our countenances, nor much lessen our appetite for food, and yet so affect us, as to make labour very uneasy. In such cases, masters intent on putting forward business, and jealous of the

sincerity of their slaves, may disbelieve what they say and grievously afflict them.

Action is necessary for all men, and our exhausting frame requires a support, which is the fruit of labour.—The earth must be tilled to keep us alive: labour is a proper part of our life; to make one answer the other in some useful mode, looks agreeable to the design of our Creator. Motion rightly managed, tends to our satisfaction, health and support.

Those who quit all useful business, and live wholly on the labour of others, have their exercise to seek; some such use less than their health requires; others choose that which, by the circumstances attending it, proves utterly adverse to true happiness. Thus while some are in divers ways, distressed for want of useful action, those who support them sigh, and are exhausted with exertions too powerful for nature, spending their days with too little cessation from labour.

Seed sown with the tears of a confined oppressed people, harvests cut down by an overborne discontented reaper, make bread less sweet to the taste of an honest man, than that which is the produce, or just reward of such voluntary action, as is a proper part of the business of human creatures.

Again, the weak state of the human species, in bearing and bringing forth their young, and the helpless condition of their young beyond that of other creatures, clearly show that Perfect Goodness designs a tender care and regard should be exercised toward them; and that no imperfect, arbitrary power should prevent the cordial effects of that sympathy, which exists in the minds of well-met pairs, to each other, and toward their offspring.

In our species the mutual ties of affection are more

rational and durable than in others below us; and the care and labour of raising our offspring are much greater. The satisfaction arising to us in their innocent company, and in their advances from one rational improvement to another, is considerable, when two are thus joined, and their affections sincere. It however happens among slaves, that they are often situate in different places; and their seeing each other depends on the will of men, liable to human passions, and a bias in judgment; who, with views of self-interest, may keep them apart more than is right. Being absent from each other, and often with other company, there is a danger of their affections being alienated, jealousies arising, the happiness otherwise resulting from the care of their offspring frustrated, and the comforts of marriage destroyed. These things being considered closely, as happening to a near friend, will appear to be hard and painful.

He who reverently observes that goodness manifested by our gracious Creator toward the various species of beings in this world, will see, that in our frame and constitution it is clearly shown that innocent men, capable to manage for themselves, were not intended to be slaves.

A person lately travelling amongst the negroes near Senegal, has this remark; "Which way so ever I turned my eyes on this pleasant spot, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by charming landscapes, the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees; the ease and indolence of the negroes reclining under the shade of their spreading foliage; the simplicity of their dress and manners; the whole revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state." M. Adanson, page 55.

Some negroes in these parts, who have had an agreeable education, have manifested a brightness of understanding equal to many of us. A remark of this kind we find in Bosman, page 328. "The negroes of Fida, saith he, are so accurately quick in their merchandise accounts, that they easily reckon as justly and quickly in their heads only, as we with the assistance of pen and ink, though the sum amounts to several thousands."

Through the force of long custom, it appears needful to speak in relation to colour. Suppose a white child, born of parents of the meanest sort, who died and left him an infant, falls into the hands of a person, who endeavours to keep him a slave, some men would account him an unjust man in doing so, who yet appear easy while many black people, of honest lives and good abilities, are enslaved in a manner more shocking than the case here supposed. This is owing chiefly to the idea of slavery being connected with the black colour, and liberty with the white; and where false ideas are twisted into our minds, it is with difficulty we get fairly disentangled.

A traveller who in cloudy weather misses his way, makes many turns while he is lost, yet still forms in his mind the bearing and situation of places, and though the ideas are wrong, they fix as fast as if they were right. Finding how things are, we see our mistake; yet the force of reason, with repeated observations on places and things, do not soon remove those false notions so fastened upon us, but it will seem in the imagination as if the course of the sun was altered; and though by recollection we are assured it is not, yet those ideas do not suddenly leave us.

Selfishness being indulged, clouds the understanding,

and where selfish men for a long time proceed on their way without opposition, the deceivableness of unrighteousness gets so rooted in their intellects, that a candid examination of things relating to self-interest is prevented; and in this circumstance, some who would not agree to make a slave of a person whose colour is like their own, appear easy in making slaves of others of a different colour, though their understandings and morals are equal to the generality of men of their own colour.

The colour of a man avails nothing, in matters of right and equity. Consider colour in relation to treaties; by which disputes between nations are sometimes settled.—And should the Father of us all so dispose things, that treaties with black men should sometimes be necessary, how then would it appear amongst the princes and ambassadors, to insist on the prerogative of the white colour?

Whence is it that men, who believe in a righteous Omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it; but because the ideas of negroes and slaves are so interwoven in the mind, that they do not discuss this matter with that candour and freedom of thought, which the case justly calls for.

To come at a right feeling of their condition, requires humble serious thinking; for in their present situation, they have but little to engage our natural affection in their favour.

Had we a son or a daughter involved in the same case, in which many of them are, it would alarm us and make us feel their condition without seeking for it. The adversity of an intimate friend will excite our compassion, while that of others equally good, in the like trouble will but little affect us.

Again, the man in worldly honour whom we consider as our superior, treating us with kindness and generosity, begets a return of gratitude and friendship toward him. We may receive as great benefits from men a degree lower than ourselves, in the common way of reckoning, and feel ourselves less engaged in favour of them. Such is our condition by nature, and these things being narrowly watched and examined, will be found to center in self-love.

The blacks seem far from being our kinsfolk, and did we find an agreeable disposition and sound understanding in some of them, which appeared as a good foundation for a true friendship between us, the disgrace arising from an open friendship with a person of so vile a stock, in the common esteem, would naturally tend to hinder it. They have neither honours, riches, outward magnificence nor power; their dress coarse, and often ragged, their employ drudgery and much in the dirt, they have little or nothing at command, but must wait upon and work for others, to obtain the necessaries of life; so that in their present situation, there is not much to engage the friendship, or move the affection of selfish men. But such who live in the spirit of true charity, sympathise with the afflicted even in the lowest stations of life.

Such is the kindness of our Creator, that people applying their minds to sound wisdom, may in general with moderate exercise live comfortably, where no misapplied power hinders it. We in these parts have cause gratefully to acknowledge it. But where men leave the true use of things, their lives become less of calm, and have less of real happiness in them.

Many are desirous of purchasing and keeping slaves, that they may live in some measure conformably to those

customs of the times, which have in them a tincture of luxury; for when we, in the least degree, depart from that use of the creatures, for which the Creator of all things intended them, there luxury begins.

And if we consider this way of life seriously, we shall see there is nothing in it sufficient to induce a wise man to choose it, before a plain, simple way of living. If we examine stately buildings and equipage, delicious food, superfine clothes, silks and linens; if we consider the splendour of choice metal fastened upon raiment, and the most showy inventions of men, it will yet appear that the humble-minded man, who is contented with the true use of houses, food and garments, and cheerfully exerciseth himself agreeably to his station in civil society, to earn them, acts more reasonably, and discovers more soundness of understanding in his conduct, than such who lay heavy burdens on others, to support themselves in a luxurious way of living.

George Buchanan, in his history of Scotland, page 62, tells of some ancient inhabitants of Britain, who were derived from a people that "had a way of marking their bodies, as some said, with instruments of iron, with variety of pictures, and with animals of all shapes, and wear no garments, that they should not hide their pictures; and were therefore called Picts."

Did we see those people shrink with pain, for a considerable time together, under the point or edge of this iron instrument, and their bodies all bloody with the operation; did we see them sometimes naked, suffering with cold, and yet refuse to put on garments, that those imaginary ensigns of grandeur might not be concealed, it is likely we should pity their folly and fondness for those things: but if we candidly compare their conduct,

in that case, with some conduct amongst ourselves, will it not appear that our folly is the greatest?

In true Gospel simplicity, free from all wrong use of things, a spirit which breathes peace and good will is cherished; but when we aspire after imaginary grandeur, and apply to selfish means to attain our end, this desire, in its original, is the same with the Picts in cutting figures on their bodies; but the evil consequences attending our proceedings are the greatest.

A covetous mind, which seeks opportunity to exalt itself, is a great enemy of true harmony in a country: envy and grudging usually accompany this disposition, and it tends to stir up its likeness in others. And where this disposition ariseth so high, as to embolden us to look upon honest industrious men as our own property during life, and to keep them to hard labour, to support us in those customs which have not their foundation in right reason, or to use any means of oppression; a haughty spirit is cherished on one side, and the desire of revenge frequently excited on the other, till the inhabitants of the land are ripe for great commotion and trouble; and thus luxury and oppression have the seeds of war and desolation in them.

Some account of the slave-trade, from the writings of persons who have been at the places where they are first purchased, viz.

Bosman on Guinea, who was a factor for the Dutch about sixteen years in that country, (page 339) thus remarks: "But since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors The first business of one of our factors, when he comes

to Fida, is to satisfy the customs of the king, and the great men, which amounts to about one hundred pounds, in Guinea value, as the goods must sell there. After which we have free license to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the crier. And yet before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves, at a set price; which is commonly one third or fourth higher than ordinary. After which we have free leave to deal with all his subjects, of what rank so ever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must resolve to run the risk of trusting the inhabitants with goods, to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: for you ought to be informed, that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as they of beasts are with us.

"Most of the slaves which are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty. When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prisons all together; and when we treat concerning them, they are all brought out in a large plain, where, by our surgeons, whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good, are set on one side. The invalids and maimed being thrown out, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them: in the mean while a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English

French, or others. When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their prisons, where, from that time forward, they are kept at our charge, cost us two-pence a day a slave, which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: so that, to save charges, we send them on board our ships the first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs, so that they come aboard stark naked, as well women as men; in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the ship is not so charitable, which he commonly is, as to bestow something on them, to cover their nakedness."

Same author, page 310. "The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave trade, in both which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with more courage, they rob more successfully, and by that means increase their trade: notwithstanding which, to freight a vessel with slaves, requires some months attendance. In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me, that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver me one or two hundred."

Bosman, page 440. "We cast anchor at Cape Mizurada, but not one negro coming on board; I went on shore, and being desirous to be informed why they did not come on board, was answered, That about two months before, the English had been there with two vessels, and had ravaged the country, destroyed all their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people for slaves; upon which the remainder fled to the inland country. They tell us, they live in peace with all their neighbours, and have no notion of any

other enemy than the English; of which nation they had taken some then: and publicly declared, that they would endeavour to get as many of them, as the two-mentioned ships had carried off of their natives. These unhappy English were in danger of being sacrificed to the memory of their friends, which some of their nation carried off."

Extracts from a collection of voyages. Vol. 1.

THE author, a popish missionary, speaking of his departing from the negro country to Brazil, saith, "I remember the duke of Bambay, a negro chief, one day sent me several blacks to be my slaves, which I would not accept; but sent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make slaves; but rather to deliver those from the slavery of the devil, whom he kept in miserable thraldom. The ship I went aboard was loaded with elephants' teeth, and slaves to the number of six hundred and eighty-men, women and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold how all these people were bestowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastened one to another, with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the whites: the women were between the decks, and the children in the steerage, pressed together like herrings in a barrel; which caused an intolerable heat and stench." Page 507.

"It is now time, saith the same author, to speak of a brutish custom these people have amongst them in making slaves; which I take not to be lawful for any person of a good conscience to buy."

He then describes how women betray men into slavery, and adds, "Others go up into the inland country, and through pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves." Page 537.

The author of this treatise, conversing with a person of good credit, was informed by him, that in his youth, while in England, he was minded to come to America, and happening on a vessel bound for Guinea, and from thence into America, he, with a view to see Africa, went on board her, and continued with them in their voyage, and so came into this country. Among other circumstances he related these. "They purchased on the coast about three hundred slaves; some of them he understood were captives of war, and some stolen by other negroes privately. When they had got many slaves on board, but were still on that coast, a plot was laid by an old negro, notwithstanding the men had irons on their hands and feet, to kill the English and take the vessel; which being discovered, the man was hanged, and many of the slaves made to shoot at him as he hung up.

"Another slave was charged with having a design to kill the English; and the captain spoke to him in relation to the charge brought against him, as he stood on deck; whereupon he immediately threw himself into the sea, and was drowned.

"Several negroes confined on board, were so extremely uneasy with their condition, that after many endeavours used, they could never make them eat nor drink after they came in the vessel; but in a desperate resolution starved themselves to death, behaving toward the last like mad-men."

In Randall's Geography, printed 1744, we are informed, "That in a time of full peace nothing is more common than for the negroes of one nation to steal those of another, and sell them o the Europeans. It is thought that the English transmit annually nearly fifty thousanc

of these unhappy creatures; and the other European nations together, about two hundred thousand more."

It is through the goodness of God that the reformation from gross idolatry and barbarity hath been thus far effected. If we consider our condition as Christians, and the benefits we enjoy, and compare them with the condition of those people, and consider that our nation trading with them for their country produce, has had an opportunity of imparting useful instructions to them, and remember that but little pains have been taken therein, it must look like an indifference in us. But when we reflect on a custom the most shocking of any amongst them, and remember, that with a view to outward gain we have joined as parties in it; that our concurrence with them in their barbarous proceedings, has tended to harden them in cruelty, and been a means of increasing calamities in their country, we must own that herein we have acted contrary to the precepts of Christ and the examples of those worthies whose lives and substance were spent in propagating Truth and righteousness amongst the heathen. When Saul, by the hand of Doeg, slew fourscore priests at once, he had a jealousy that one of them at least was confederate with David, whom he considered as his enemy. Herod slaying all the male children in Bethlehem of two years old and under, was an act of uncommon cruelty; but he supposed there was a male child there, within that age, who was likely to be king of the Jews, and finding no way to destroy him, but by destroying them all, thought this the most effectual means to secure the kingdom to his own family.

When the sentence against the Protestants of Marindol, &c., in France, was put in execution, great numbers of people fled to the wilderness; amongst whom were

ancient people, women great with child, and others with babes in their arms, who endured calamities grievous to relate, and in the end some perished with hunger, and many were destroyed by fire and sword; but they had this objection against them, That they obstinately persisted in opposition to the holy mother church, and being heretics, it was right to work their ruin and extirpation, and raze out their memory from among men. Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 646.

In favour of these cruelties, every one had what they deemed a plea. These scenes of blood and cruelty among the barbarous inhabitants of Guinea, are not less terrible than those now mentioned. They are continued from one age to another, and we make ourselves parties and fellow-helpers in them; nor do I see that we have any plea in our favour more plausible than the plea of Saul, of Herod, or of the French, in those slaughters.

Many who are parties in this trade, by keeping slaves with views of self-interest, were they to go as soldiers in one of these inland expeditions to catch slaves, must necessarily grow dissatisfied with such employ, or cease to profess their religious principles. And though the first and most striking part of the scene is done at a great distance, and by other hands, yet every one who is acquainted with the circumstances, and notwithstanding joins in it, for the sake of gain only, must in the nature of things, be chargeable with the others.

Should we consider ourselves present as spectators, when cruel negroes privately catch innocent children, who are employed in the fields; hear their lamentable cries, under the most terrifying apprehensions; or should we look upon it as happening in our own families, having our children carried off by savages, we must needs own,

that such proceedings are contrary to the nature of Christianity. Should we meditate on the wars which are greatly increased by this trade, and on that affliction which many thousands live in, through apprehensions of being taken or slain; on the terror and amazement that villages are in, when surrounded by these troops of enterprisers; on the great pain and misery of groaning dying men, who get wounded in those skirmishes; we shall necessarily see, that it is impossible to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of gain, and retain our innocence.

Should we consider the case of multitudes of those people, who in a fruitful soil, and hot climate, with a little labour raise grain, roots and pulse to eat; spin and weave cotton, and fasten together the large feathers of fowls, to cover their nakedness; many of whom, in much simplicity live inoffensively in their cottages, and take great comfort in rearing up their children.

Should we contemplate their circumstances, when suddenly attacked, and labour to understand their inexpressible anguish of soul who survive the conflict: should we think on inoffensive women, who fled at the alarm, and at their return saw that village in which they and their acquaintance were raised up, and had pleasantly spent their youthful days, now lying in gloomy desolation; some shocked at finding the mangled bodies of their near friends amongst the slain; others bemoaning the absence of a brother, a sister, a child, or a whole family of children, who by cruel men, are bound and carried to market to be sold, without the least hopes of seeing them again: add to this, the afflicted condition of these poor captives, who are separated from family connexions, and all the comforts arising from friendship and acquaintance, carried amongst a people of a strange

language, to be parted from their fellow-captives, put to labour in a manner more servile and wearisome than what they were used to, with many sorrowful circumstances attending their slavery; we must necessarily see, that it belongs not to the followers of Christ to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of outward gain.

Though there were wars and desolations among the negroes, before the Europeans began to trade there for slaves, yet now the calamities are greatly increased, so many thousands being annually brought from thence; and we by purchasing them with views of self-interest, are become parties with them, and accessary to that increase.

In this case, we are not joining against an enemy who is fomenting discords on our continent, and using all possible means to make slaves of us and our children; but against a people who have not injured us.

If those who were spoiled and wronged, should at length make slaves of their oppressors, and continue slavery to their posterity, it would look rigorous to candid men: but to act that part toward a people, when neither they nor their fathers have injured us, has something in it extraordinary, and requires our serious attention.

Our children breaking a bone; getting so bruised that a leg or an arm must be taken off; lost for a few hours, so that we despair of their being found again; a friend hurt, so that he dieth in a day or two; are circumstances that move us with grief. Did we attend to these scenes in Africa, in like manner as if they were transacted in our presence, and sympathise with the negroes in all their afflictions and miseries, as we do with our children and friends, we should be more careful to do nothing in any degree helping forward a trade productive of so many

and so great calamities. Great distance nakes nothing in our favour. Willingly to join with unrighteousness, to the injury of men who live some thousand miles off, is the same in substance, as joining with it to the injury of our neighbours.

In the eye of pure justice, actions are regarded according to the spirit and disposition they arise from: some evils are accounted scandalous, and the desire of reputation may keep selfish men from appearing openly to participate in them; but he who is shy on that account, and yet by indirect means promotes that evil, and shares in the profit of it, cannot be innocent.

He who with a view to self-interest buys a slave, made so by violence, and on the strength of such purchase holds him a slave, thereby joins hands with those who committed that violence, and in the nature of things becomes chargeable with the guilt.

Suppose a man wants a slave, and being in Guinea, goes and hides by the path where boys pass from one little town to another, and there catches one the day he expects to sail; and taking him on board, brings him home, without any aggravating circumstances; suppose another buys a man taken by them who live by plunder and the slave-trade; who often steal them privately, and shed much blood in getting them, he who buys the slaves thus taken, pays those men for their wickedness, and makes himself a party with them.

Whatever nicety of distinction there may be, between going in person on expeditions to catch slaves, and buying those with a view to self-interest, which others have taken; it is clear and plain to an upright mind, that such distinction is in words, not in substance; for the parties are concerned in the same work, and have a necessary

connection with and dependence on each other; for were there none to purchase slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them, would of consequence do less at it.

Some would buy a negro brought from Guinea, with a view to self-interest, and keep him a slave, who yet would seem to scruple to take arms, and join with men employed in taking slaves.

Others have civil negroes, who were born in our country, capable and likely to manage well for themselves; whom they keep as slaves, without ever trying them with freedom, and take the profit of their labour as a part of their estates, and yet disapprove of bringing them from their own country.

If those negroes had come here as merchants, with their ivory and gold dust, in order to trade with us, and some powerful person had taken their effects to himself, and then put them to hard labour, and ever after considered them as slaves, the action would be looked upon as unrighteous.

If those negro merchants should have children after being among us, whose endowments and conduct were like other people's in common, and on their attaining to mature age, and requesting to have their liberty, they should be told they were born in slavery, and were lawful slaves, and therefore their request should be denied; such conduct toward them would be looked upon as unfair and oppressive.

In the present case, relating to home-born negroes, whose understandings and behaviour are as good as common among other people, if we have any claim to them as slaves, that claim is grounded on their being the children or offspring of slaves, who in general were made such through means as unrighteous, and attended with

more terrible circumstances than the case last supposed; so that when we trace our claim to the bottom, these home-born negroes having paid for their education, and given reasonable security to those who owned them, in case of their becoming chargeable, we have no more equitable right to their service, than we should if they were the children of honest merchants who came from Guinea in an English vessel to trade with us.

If we claim any right to them as the children of slaves, we build on the foundation laid by those who made slaves of their ancestors; so that of necessity we must either justify the trade, or relinquish our right to them, as being the children of slaves.

Why should it seem right to honest men to make advantage by these people more than by others? Others enjoy freedom, and receive wages equal to their work, at or near such time as they have discharged these equitable obligations they are under to those who educate them. These have made no contract to serve; been no more expensive in raising up than others, and many of them appear as likely to make a right use of freedom as other people; how then can an honest man withhold from them that liberty, which is the free gift of the Most High to his rational creatures?

The upright in heart cannot succeed the wicked in their wickedness; nor is it consonant to the life they live, to hold fast an advantage unjustly gained.

The negroes who live by plunder and the slave-trade, steal poor innocent children, invade their neighbours' territories, and spill much blood to get these slaves: and can it be possible for an honest man to think that with a view to self-interest, we may continue slavery to the offspring of these unhappy sufferers, merely because they

are the children of slaves, and not have a share of this guilt?

It is granted by many, that the means used in getting them are unrighteous, and that buying them when brought here is wrong; yet as setting them free is attended with some difficulty, they do not comply with it; but seem to be of the opinion, that to give them food and raiment, and keep them servants without any other wages, is the best way to manage them that they know of; and hoping that their children after them will not be cruel to the negroes, conclude to leave them as slaves to their children.

While present outward interests is the chief object of our attention, we shall feel many objections in our minds against renouncing our claim to them, as the children of slaves; for being prepossessed with wrong opinions, prevents our seeing things clearly, which to indifferent persons are easy to be seen.

Suppose a person seventy years past, in low circumstances, bought a negro man and woman, and that the children of such person are now wealthy, and have the children of such slaves; admit that the first negro man and his wife did as much business as their master and mistress, and that the children of the slaves have done more than their young masters: suppose on the whole, that the expense of living has been less on the negroes side than on the other, all which are no improbable suppositions, it follows, that in equity these negroes have a right to a part of this increase of worldly substance; that should some difficulties arise on their being set free, there is reason for us patiently to labour through them

As the conduct of men varies, relating to civil society, so different treatment is justly due to them. Indiscreet men occasion trouble in the world; and it remains to be

the care of those who seek the good of mankind, to admonish such as they find occasion.

The slothfulness of some of them, in providing for themselves and families, it is likely would require the notice of their neighbours; nor is it unlikely that some would, with justice, be made servants, and others punished for their crimes. Pure justice points out to each individual their due; but to deny a people the privilege of human creatures, on a supposition that being free, many of them would be troublesome to us, is to mix the condition of good and bad men together, and to treat the whole as the worst of them deserve.

If we seriously consider that liberty is the right of innocent men; that the mighty God is a refuge for the oppressed; that in reality we are indebted to them; that they being set free, are still liable to the penalties of our laws, and as likely to have punishment for their crimes as other people; these may answer all our objections; and to retain them in perpetual servitude, without just cause for it, will produce effects, in the event, more grievous than setting them free would do, when a real love to truth and equity is the motive to it.

Our authority over them stands originally in a purchase made from those who, as to the general, obtained theirs by unrighteousness. Whenever we have recourse to such authority, it tends more or less to obstruct the channels through which the perfect plant in us receives nourishment.

There is a principle, [the Spirit of Truth] which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is however pure, and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, where the

heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren, in the best sense of the expression. Using ourselves to take ways which appear most easy to us, when inconsistent with that purity which is without beginning, we thereby set up a government of our own, and deny obedience to Him, whose service is true liberty.

He that hath a servant made so wrongfully, and knows it to be so, when he treats him otherwise than a free man, when he reaps the benefit of his labour, without paying him such wages as are reasonably due to free men for the like service, clothes excepted; these things, though done in calmness, without any show of disorder, do yet deprave the mind in like manner, and with as great certainty, as prevailing cold congeals water. These steps taken by masters, and their conduct striking the minds of their children whilst young, leave less room for that which is good to work upon them. The customs of their parents, their neighbours, and the people with whom they converse, working upon their minds; and they from thence conceiving similar ideas of things and modes of conduct, the entrance into their hearts becomes in a great measure, shut up against the gentle movings of uncreated purity.

From one age to another, the gloom grows thicker and darker, till error gets established by general opinion; that whoever attends to perfect goodness and remains under the melting influence of it, finds a path unknown to many, and sees the necessity to lean upon the arm of Divine strength, and dwell alone or with a few, in rightly committing their cause to Him, who is a refuge for his people in all their troubles.

Where through the agreement of a multitude, some

channels of justice are stopped, and men may support their characters as just men, by being just to a party, there is great danger of contracting an alliance with that spirit, which stands in opposition to the God of love, and spreads discord, trouble and vexation among such who give up to the influence of it.

Negroes are our fellow creatures, and their present condition amongst us requires our serious consideration. We know not the time when those scales, in which mountains are weighed, may turn. The Parent of mankind is gracious: his care is over his smallest creatures; and a multitude of men escape not his notice. And though many of them are trodden down and despised, yet he remembers them: he seeth their affliction, and looketh upon the spreading increasing exaltation of the oppressor. He turns the channels of power, humbles the most haughty people, and gives deliverance to the oppressed, at such periods as are consistent with his infinite justice and goodness. And wherever gain is preferred to equity, and wrong things publicly encouraged to that degree, that wickedness takes root and spreads wide amongst the inhabitants of a country, there is real cause for sorrow to all such, whose love to mankind stands on a true principle, and who wisely consider the end and event of things.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY; ON LABOUR; ON SCHOOLS AND ON THE RIGHT USE OF THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1768.

"The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." James iii, 17.

INTRODUCTION.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow, on account of the prevailing of that spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward teaching of Christ, to pursue ways of living, attended with unnecessary labour, and which draws forth the minds of many people to seek after outward power, and to strive for riches, which frequently introduce oppression, and bring forth wars and grievous calamities.

It is with reverence that I acknowledge the mercies of our heavenly Father, who in infinite love visited me in my youth, and wrought a belief in me, that through true obedience a state of inward purity may be known in this life, in which we may love mankind in the same love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn resignation to endure hardships for the real good of others.

"While the eye is single, the whole body is full of

nght;" but for want of this, selfish desires and an imaginary superiority, darken the mind; hence injustice frequently proceeds; and where this is the case, to convince the judgment, is the most effectual remedy.

Where violent measures are pursued in opposing injustice, the passions and resentments of the injured, frequently operate in the prosecution of their designs; and after conflicts productive of very great calamities, the minds of contending parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure principle of Divine love, as they were before; but where people walk in that pure light in which all their "works are wrought in God," and under oppression persevere in the meek spirit, and abide firm in the cause of Truth, without actively complying with oppressive demands, through these the Lord hath often manifested his power, in opening the understandings of others, to the promoting of righteousness in the earth.

A time I believe is coming, wherein this Divine work will so spread and prevail, that "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more." And as we, through the tender mercies of God, do feel that this precious work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my brethren and sisters in a holy care and diligence, that each of us may so live under the sanctifying power of Truth, as to be redeemed from all unnecessary cares; that our eye being single to him, no customs, however prevalent, which are contrary to the wisdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following his holy leadings, in whatsoever he may graciously appoint for us.

To have our trust settled in the Lord, and not to seek after or desire outward treasures, any further than his holy Spirit leads us therein, is a happy state, as saith the prophet, "Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is."

Pure wisdom leads people into lowliness of mind, in which they learn resignation to the Divine will, and contentment in suffering for his cause, when they cannot keep a clear conscience without suffering.

In this pure wisdom the mind is attentive to the root and original spring of motions and desires; and as we know "the Lord to be our refuge," and find no safety but in humbly walking before him, we feel an holy engagement, that every desire which leads therefrom may be brought to judgment.

While we proceed in this precious way, and find ardent longings for a full deliverance from every thing which defiles, all prospects of gain that are not consistent with the wisdom from above, are considered as snares, and an inward concern is felt, that we may live under the cross, and faithfully attend to that holy Spirit, which is sufficient to preserve out of them.

When I have considered that saying of Christ, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," his omnipotence hath often occurred to my mind.

While we believe that he is every where present with his people, and that perfect goodness, wisdom and

power, are united in him, how comfortable is the consideration.

Our wants may be great, but his power is greater We may be oppressed and despised, but he is able to turn our patient sufferings into profit to ourselves, and to the advancement of his work on earth. His people who feel the power of his cross, to crucify all that is selfish in them, who are engaged in outward concerns, from a convincement that it is their duty, and resign themselves and their treasures to him; these feel that it is dangerous to give way to that in us, which craves riches and greatness in this world.

As the heart truly contrite, earnestly desires "to know Christ and the fellowship of his sufferings," so far as the Lord for gracious ends may lead into them; as such feel that it is their interest to put their trust in God, and to seek no gain but that which he by his holy Spirit, leads into; so on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this Divine Teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their measure, "to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ," in patiently suffering for the promotion of righteousness in the earth; but have an eye toward the power of men and the outward advantage of wealth, these are often attentive to those employments which appear profitable, even though the gains arise from such trade and business as proceed from the workings of that spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying life of an humble contrite Christian.

While I write on this subject, I feel my mind tenderly affected toward those honestly disposed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with these difficulties.

To such I may say, in the feeling of our heavenly

Father's love, and number myself with you, O that our eyes may be single to the Lord! may we reverently wait on him for strength to lay aside all unnecessary expense of every kind, and learn contentment in a plain simple life.

May we in lowliness submit to the leadings of his spirit, and enter upon any outward employ which he graciously points out to us, and then whatever difficulties arise in consequence of our faithfulness, I trust they will work for our good.

Small treasure to a resigned mind is sufficient. How happy is it to be content with a little, to live in humility, and feel that in us, which breathes out this language, Abba! Father.

If that called the wisdom of this world, had no resemblance of true wisdom, the name of wisdom, I suppose, had not been given to it.

As wasting outward substance to gratify vain desires, on one hand; so slothfulness and neglect on the other, do often involve men and their families in trouble, and reduce them to want and distress. To shun both these vices is good in itself, and hath a resemblance of wisdom; but while people thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches and power, and the friendship of this world, and do not humbly wait for the Spirit of Truth to lead them in purity; these, through an anxious care to obtain the end desired, reach forth for gain in worldly wisdom, and in regard to their inward state, fall into divers temptations and snares. And though such may think of applying wealth to good purposes, and to use their power to prevent oppression, yet wealth and power are often applied otherwise; nor can we depart from the leadings of our holy Shepherd, without going into confusion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with power, which nothing but Divine love can qualify the mind to use rightly; and as to the humility and uprightness of our children after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold on the wisdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of Truth, and example our children herein, we have great cause to apprehend that wealth may be a snare to them, and prove an injury to others, over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wisdom which is from beneath, and to walk in the light of the Lord, is a precious situation; thus his people are brought to put their trust in him; and in this humble confidence in his wisdom, goodness and power, the righteous find a refuge in adversities, superior to the greatest outward help, and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantages can afford.

ON LABOUR.

Having from my childhood been used to bodily labour for a living, I may express my experience therein.

Right exercise affords an innocent pleasure in the time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the sweetness of rest; but from the extremes each way, arise inconveniences.

Moderate exercise opens the pores, gives the blood a lively circulation, and enables us to judge rightly respecting that portion of labour which is the true medium.

"The fowls of the air sow not, nor gather into barns, yet our heavenly Father feedeth them;" nor do I believe that infinite goodness and power would have allotted

labour to us, had he not seen that labour was proper for us in this life.

The original design and true medium of labour, is a subject that to me appears worthy of our serious consideration.

Idle men are often a burthen to themselves, neglect the duty they owe to their families, and become burdensome to others also.

As outward labour directed by the wisdom from above, tends to our health and adds to our happiness in this life; so on the contrary, entering upon it in a selfish spirit, and pursuing it too long, or too hard, have a contrary effect.

I have observed that too much labour not only makes the understanding dull, but so intrudes upon the harmony of the body, that after ceasing from our toil, we have another to pass through, before we can be so composed as to enjoy the sweetness of rest.

From too much labour in the heat, frequently proceed immoderate sweats, which often I believe open the way for disorders and impair our constitutions.

When we go beyond the true medium, and feel weariness approaching, but think business may suffer if we cease, at such a time spirituous liquors are frequently taken, with a view to support nature under these fatigues.

I have found that too much labour in the summer heats the blood, that taking strong drink to support the body under such labour, increaseth that heat, and though a person may be so far temperate as not to manifest the least disorder, yet the mind in such a circumstance, doth not retain that calmness and serenity, in which we should endeavour to live.

Thus toiling in the heat and drinking strong liquor,

make men more resolute and less considerate, and tend very much to disqualify for following him who is meek and low of heart.

As laying out more business than is consistent with pure wisdom is an evil, so this evil frequently leads into more. Too much business leads to hurry. In the hurry and toil strong drink is often used, and hereby many proceed to noise and wantonness, and some, though more considerate, do often suffer loss, as to a true composedness of mind.

I feel sincere desires in my heart that no rent or interest may be laid so high as to be a snare to tenants; and that no desires of gain may draw any too far in business. That no cares to support customs, which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, may have place in our minds, but that we may build on the sure foundation, and feel our holy Shepherd to lead us, who alone is able to preserve us, and bring forth from every thing which defiles.

Having several times in my travels, had opportunity to observe the labour and manner of life of great numbers of slaves, it appears to me that the true medium is lamentably neglected by many, who assign them their portion of labour.

Without saying much at this time, concerning buying and selling men for term of life, who have as just a right to liberty as we have; nor about the great miseries and effusion of blood, consequent on promoting the slave-trade; and to speak as favourably as may be, with regard to continuing those in bondage who are amongst us, we cannot say there is no partiality in it: for whatever tenderness may be manifested by individuals in their life time toward them, yet for people to be transmitted

from a man to his posterity, in the helpless condition of slaves, appears inconsistent with the nature of the Gospel spirit. From such proceedings it often follows, that persons in the decline of life, are deprived of monies equitably due to them, and committed to the care, and subjected to the absolute power, of young inexperienced men, who know but little about the weakness of old age, nor understand the language of declining life.

When parents give their estates to their children, and then depend on them for a maintenance, they sometimes meet with great inconveniences; but if the power of possession thus obtained, often reverses the obligations of gratitude and filial duty, and makes manifest that youth are often ignorant of the language of old age, how hard is the case of ancient negroes who, deprived of the wages equitably due to them, are left to young people, who have been used to look upon them as their inferiors.

For men to behold the fruits of their labour withheld from them, and possessed by others, and in old age to find themselves destitute of those comfortable accommodations, and that tender regard, which their time of life requires;

When they feel pains, and stiffness in their joints and limbs, weakness of appetite, and that a little labour is wearisome, and still behold themselves in the neglected uncomfortable condition of a slave, and oftentimes to a young unsympathizing man;

For men to be thus treated from one generation to another who, besides their own distresses, think on the slavery entailed on their posterity, and are grieved, what disagreeable thoughts must they have of the professed followers of Jesus! and how must their groans ascend to that Almighty Being, who "will be a refuge for the oppressed."

ON SCHOOLS.

"Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." Mark x, 14.

To encourage children to do things with a view to get the praise of men, to me appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the Spirit of Truth. For it is the work of the Holy Spirit to direct the mind to God, that in all our proceedings we may have a single eye to him; to give alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to keep clear of that disposition reproved by our Saviour, "But all their works they do for to be seen of men."

That Divine light which enlightens all men, I believe does often shine in the minds of children very early, and humbly to wait for wisdom, that our conduct toward them may tend to forward their acquaintance with it, and to strengthen them in obedience thereto, appears to me to be a duty on all of us.

By cherishing the spirit of pride, and the love of praise in them, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in learning, than otherwise they would, but to take measures to forward children in learning, which naturally tend to divert their minds from true humility, appears to me to savour of the wisdom of this world.

If tutors are not acquainted with sanctification of spirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the leadings of Truth, but follow the maxims of the wisdom of this world, children who are under their tuition, appear to me to be in danger of imbibing thoughts and apprehensions reverse to that meekness and lowliness of heart, which is necessary for all the true followers of Christ.

Children at an age fit for schools, are in a time of life which requires the patient attention of pious people, and if we commit them to the tuition of those whose minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," we are in danger of not acting the part of faithful parents toward them; for our heavenly Father doth not require us to do evil, that good may come of it; and it is needful that we deeply examine ourselves, lest we get entangled in the wisdom of this world, and through wrong apprehensions, take such methods in education, as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children.

It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children; and when they are sent to schools where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led astray by tutors, who do not live a self-denying life, or by the conversation of children who do not live in innocence, it is a case much to be lamented.

While a pious tutor has the charge of no more children than he can take due care of, and keeps his authority in the Truth, the good spirit in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of such who are not hardened, and his labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their understanding with respect to the true Christian life. But where a person has charge of too many, and his thoughts and time are so much employed in the outward affairs of his school, that he does not so weightily attend to the spirit and conduct of each individual, as to be enabled to administer rightly to all in due season; through such omissions he not only suffers, as to the state of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of suffering also.

To watch the spirit of children, to nurture them in

Gospel love, and labour to help them against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them; and a faithful performance of our duty, not only tends to their lasting benefit, and our own peace, but also to render their company agreeable to us.

Instruction thus administered, reaches the pure witness in the minds of children who are not hardened, and begets love in them toward those who thus lead them on; but where too great a number are committed to a tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of the children, there is a danger of disorders gradually increasing amongst them, until the effects thereof appear in their conduct, too strong to be easily remedied.

A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents at home, and by tutors at school, in weightily attending to the spirit and inclinations of children, and that we may so lead, instruct and govern them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted which is in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our Father, who is in heaven.

Meditating on the situation of schools in our provinces, my mind has at times been affected with sorrow, and under these exercises it has appeared to me, that if those who have large estates were faithful stewards, and laid no rent, or interest, or other demand, higher than is consistent with universal love; and those in lower circumstances would, under a moderate employ, shun unnecessary expense, even to the smallest article, and all unite in humbly seeking to the Lord, he would graciously instruct us, and strengthen us, to relieve the youth from various snares in which many of them are entangled.

ON THE RIGHT USE OF THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

As our understandings are opened by the pure light, we experience that through an inward approaching to God, the mind is strengthened in obedience; and that by gratifying those desires which are not of his begetting, these approaches to him are obstructed, and the deceivable spirit gains strength.

These truths being as it were engraven upon our hearts, and our everlasting interest in Christ evidently concerned therein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nourished which tends to feed pride or self-love in us. Thus in pure obedience, we are not only instructed in our duty to God, but also in the affairs which necessarily relate to this life, and the Spirit of Truth which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that "whatsoever we do in word or deed, may be done in His name."

Hence such buildings, furniture, food and raiment, as best answer our necessities, and are the least likely to feed that selfish spirit which is our enemy, are the most acceptable to us.

In this state the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any business which may weaken our love to our heavenly Father, or bring unnecessary trouble to any of his creatures.

Thus the way gradually opens to cease from that spirit which craves riches and things fetched far, which so mixes with the customs of this world, and so intrudes upon the true harmony of life, that the right medium of labour is very much departed from. As the minds of people are set led in a steady concern, not to hold or

possess any thing but what may be held consistently with the wisdom which is from above, they consider what they possess as the gift of God, and are inwardly exercised, that in all parts of their conduct they may act agreeably to the nature of the peaceable government of Christ.

A little supports such a life; and in a state truly resigned to the Lord, the eye is single to see what outward employ he leads into as a means of our subsistence, and a lively care is maintained to hold to that, without launching further.

There is a harmony in the several parts of this divine work in the hearts of people: he who leads them to cease from those gainful employments, carried on in that wisdom which is from beneath, delivers also from the desire after worldly greatness, and reconciles the mind to a life so plain, that a little suffices.

Here the real comforts of life are not lessened. Moderate exercise, in the way of true wisdom, is pleasant both to mind and body.

Food and raiment sufficient, though in the greatest simplicity, is accepted with contentment and gratitude.

The mutual love subsisting between the faithful followers of Christ, is more pure than that friendship which is not seasoned with humility, how specious soever the appearance.

Where people depart from pure wisdom in one case, it is often an introduction to depart from it in many more; and thus a spirit which seeks for outward greatness, and leads into worldly wisdom to attain it and support it, gets possession of the mind.

In beholding the customary departure from the true medium of labour, and that unnecessary toil which many go through, in supporting outward greatness, and pro-

curing delicacies; in beholding how the true calmness of life is changed into hurry, and how many, by eagerly pursuing outward treasure, are in great danger of withering as to the inward state of the mind; in meditating on the works of this spirit, and on the desolations it makes amongst the professors of Christianity, I may thankfully acknowledge, that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart, for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Christ, and an engagement to labour according to the gift bestowed on me, for promoting an humble, plain, temperate way of living: a life where no unnecessary cares or expenses may encumber our minds, or lessen our ability to do good; where no desires after riches, or greatness may lead into hard dealing; where no connexions with worldly-minded men, may abate our love to God, or weaken a true zeal for righteousness: a life wherein we may diligently labour for resignedness to do and suffer whatever our heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the world to himself.

When the prophet Isaiah had uttered his vision, and declared that a time was coming wherein "swords should be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and that nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more;" he immediately directs the minds of people to the Divine teacher in this remarkable language: "O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord."

To wait for the direction of this light, in all temporal as well as spiritual concerns, appears necessary; for if in any case we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this Spirit of Truth to open our way therein, and through the love of this world proceed on, and seek for gain by that business or traffic, which "is not of the

Father, out of the world," we fail in our testimony to the purity and peace of his government, and get into that which is for chastisement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind, it being evident, that a life less humble, less simple and plain, than that which Christ leads his sheep into, necessarily requires a support, for which pure wisdom does not provide; hence there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people, so zealous of good works, as to have no fellowship with works of darkness," while we have wants to supply which have their foundation in custom, and do not come within the meaning of those expressions, "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Those things which he beholds to be necessary for his people, he fails not to give them in his own way and time; but as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, so imaginary wants are different "from those things which he knoweth that we have need of."

As my meditations have been on these things, compassion hath filled my heart toward my fellow-creatures, involved in customs, which have grown up in "the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God." O that the youth may be so thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children, and know him to be their refuge, their safe unfailing refuge, through the various dangers attending this uncertain state of being.

If those whose minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are contented with a plain, simple way of living, find that to conduct the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceedings,

or having fellowship with works of darkness, the most diligent care is necessary;

If customs, distinguishable from universal righteousness, and opposite to the true self-denying life, are now prevalent, and so mixed with trade, and with almost every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of Truth, that we may reasonably hope to walk safely, and support an uniform testimony to the peaceable government of Christ; if this be the case, how lamentably do they expose themselves to temptations, who give way to the love of riches, conform to expensive living, and reach forth for gain, to support customs which our holy Shepherd leads not into.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND; AND HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1770.

"And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men." Micah v, 7.

INTRODUCTION.

As mankind, though descended from one parent, are divided into many families, and as trading to sea is greatly increased within a few ages past; amidst this extended commerce, how necessary it is that the professed followers of Christ keep sacred his holy Name, and be employed about trade and traffic no farther than justice and equity evidently accompany them; that we may give no just cause of offence to any, however distant, or unable to plead their own cause; and may continually keep in view, the spreading of the true and saving knowledge of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, amongst our fellow-creatures, which through his infinite love, some feel to be more precious than any other treasure.

CONSIDERATIONS ON TRUE HARMONY.

CHAPTER I.

On serving the Lord in our outward employments.

UNDER the humbling dispensations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow-creatures, and a concern that the holy Spirit, which alone can restore mankind to a state of true harmony, may with singleness of heart be waited for and followed.

I trust there are many under that visitation, which, if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify them with firmness to be true patterns of the Christian life, who, in living and walking, may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the spirit of this world.

That which I feel first to express is, a care for those who are in circumstances which appear difficult, with respect to supporting their families in a way answerable to pure wisdom, that they may not be discouraged, but remember that in humbly obeying the leading of Christ, he owneth us as his friends; "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you;" and to be a friend to Christ, is to be united to him who has all power in heaven and in earth; and though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities has often

affected me with a brotherly sympathy, attended with a desire that resignation may be laboured for; and where the holy Leader directeth to a country life or some change of employ, he may be faithfully followed; for under the refining hand of the Lord, I have seen that the inhabitants of some cities are greatly increased through some branches of business which his holy Spirit doth not lead into, and that being entangled in these things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy Leader, and obstructs the coming of the kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven.

If we indulge a desire to imitate our neighbours in those things which harmonize not with the true Christian walking, these entanglements may hold fast to us, and some who in an awakening time, feel tender scruples with respect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from every degree of dross; and by looking on these examples, and desiring to support their families in a way pleasant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wisdom gaining strength in them, and of their departing from that pure feeling of Truth, which if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the Divine will, even in a very low estate.

One formerly speaking on the profitableness of true humility, saith, "He that troubles not himself with anxious thoughts for more than is necessary, lives little less than the life of angels; whilst by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." Cave's Primitive Christianity, page 31.

"It is not enough," says Tertullian, "that a Christian be chaste and modest, but he must *appear* to be so: a virtue of which he should have so great a store, that it should

flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conscience, into the superficies of his life." Same book, page 43.

"The garments we wear," says Clemens, "ought to be mean and frugal—that is true simplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment, which is the farthest from curiosity." Page 49.

Though the change from day to night, is by a motion so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come we behold it very different from the day; and thus as people become wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight, customs rise up from the spirit of this world, and spread by little and little, until a departure from the simplicity that there is in Christ, becomes as distinguishable as light from darkness, to such who are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd, to encourage his flock in firmness and perseverance, reminds them of his love for them; "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love;" and in another place he graciously points out the danger of departing therefrom, by going into unsuitable employments. This he represents in the similitude of offence from that useful active member, the hand; and to fix the instruction the deeper, he names the right hand; "If thy right hand offend thee cut it off and cast it from thee:"—If thou feelest offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all Truth, and is a strong and faithful friend to those who are resigned to him.

Again, he points out those things which appearing pleasant to the natural mind, are not best for us, in the similitude of offence from the eye; "If thy right eye

offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or cut off the hand, is attended with sharp pain; and how precious is the instruction which our Redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the most painful trials, but put our trust in him, even in him who sent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderness; who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever.

The prophet Isaiah represents the unrighteous doings of the Israelites toward the poor, as the fruits of an effeminate life; "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them; what mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor, saith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtiness of the daughters of Sion, and enumerates many ornaments as instances of their vanity, to uphold which, the poor were so hardly dealt with, that he sets forth their poverty, their leanness and inability to help themselves, in the similitude of a man maimed by violence or "beaten to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

I may here add, that at times, when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and been engaged in weighty conversation in the cause of righteousness, the instructions I have received under these exercises, in regard to the true use of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and lasting impressions on my mind.

I have beheld how the desire to provide wealth, and to uphold a delicate life hath grievously entangled many, and been like snares to their offspring; and though some have been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and

appeared desirous at times to be helped out of them; yet for want of abiding under the humbling power of Truth, they have continued in these entanglements; for in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expensive way of living, in parents and in children, hath called for a large supply, and in answering this call "the faces of the poor" have been ground away and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm, there is a physician; and O what longings do I feel that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing; know that removed which now ministers cause for the cries of many people to ascend to heaven against their oppressors, and that we may see the true harmony restored.

Behold "how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity." The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apostle; "If we walk in the light, as He [God] is in the light, we shall have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty; but those who "walk in the light as Christ is in the light," they know the "Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world."

Walking is a phrase frequently used in Scripture to represent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and transactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Christ being the light dwells always in the light; and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine Leader, he preserves from giving just cause for any to quarrel with us; and where

this foundation is laid and mutually kept to, by families conversant with each other, the way is open for those comforts in society, which our heavenly Father intends as a part of our happiness in this world; and we may experience the goodness and pleasantness of dwelling together in unity. But where ways of living take place which tend to oppression, and in the pursuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them inequitable burdens; here a fear lest that measure should be meted to them, which they have measured to others, incites a care to support that by craft and cunning devices, which stands not on the firm foundation of righteousness: thus the harmony of society is broken, and from hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world.

"Come out of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." This babel, or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation: "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name." In departing from an humble trust in God, and in following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the upper-hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to understand. In Babel the language is confounded.

This city is represented as a place of business, and those employed in it as merchants of the earth: "The merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies."

It is remarkable in this call, that the language from

the Father of mercies is, "*my* people," "Come out of Babylon *my* people!" Thus tender his mercies are toward us in an imperfect state; and as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened; cravings which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Babel, represented by the inspired prophet, in the "returning of a pure language."

Happy for those who humbly attend to the call, "Come out of Babylon my people." For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful, yet as we bow in true humility and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise; and that in weaning us from all that is selfish, he prepares the way to a quiet habitation where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. An exercise of spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of Truth, may bow in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this leader, that many who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us and be instructed. And O that such who have plenty of this world's goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true Christian walking.

Our blessed Saviour speaking on worldly greatness, compares himself to one waiting and attending on a company at dinner: "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am amongst you as he that serveth."

Thus in a world greatly disordered, where men aspiring to outward greatness are wont to oppress others to support their designs, he who was of the highest descent,

being the Son of God, and greater than any amongst the greatest families of men, by his example and doctrines foreclosed his followers from claiming any show of outward greatness, and from any supposed superiority in themselves, or derived from their ancestors.

He who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart, but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every stain of the spirit of this world.

Such was the example of our blessed Redeemer, of whom the beloved disciple said, "He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk even as he walked."

John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of prison a short time before he was burnt, in which are these expressions;" "Consider your dignity as children of God and temples of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ; be ashamed therefore to think, speak, or do any thing unseemly, for God's children and the members of Christ." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 1177.

CHAPTER II.

On the example of Christ.

My mind has been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor, as to the things of this life, who are under trials in regard to getting a living in a way answerable to the purity of Truth; and a labour of heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money in those who are tried with plentiful estates, but that they with tenderness of heart may sympathize with them.

It is the saying of our blessed Redeemer, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way in which the wisdom of the world hath no part, but is opened by the Spirit of Truth, and is "called the way of holiness;" a way in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer; and the outward gain we get in this journey, is considered as a trust committed to us by Him, who formed and supports the world, and is the rightful director of the use and application of the products of it.

Except the mind be preserved chaste, there is no safety for us; but in an estrangement from true resignation, the spirit of the world casts up a way, in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a selfish application of outward treasures.

How agreeable to the true harmony of society, is that exhortation of the apostle, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."

A person in outward prosperity may have the power of obtaining riches, but the same mind being in him which was in Christ Jesus, he may feel a tenderness of heart towards those of low degree; and instead of setting himself above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favour that his way through life is more easy than the way of many others; may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of those customs which have entangled the family; employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members, and hold forth such a perfect example of humiliation, that the pure witness may be reached in many minds, and the way opened for a harmonious walking together.

Jesus Christ in promoting the happiness of others, was

not deficient in looking for the helpless, who lay in obscurity, nor did he save any thing to render himself honourable among men, which might have been of more use to the weak members in his Father's family; of whose compassion towards us I may now speak a little. He who was perfectly happy in himself, moved with infinite love, "took not upon him the nature of angels," but our imperfect natures, and therein wrestled with the temptations which attend us in this life; and although he was the Son of Him who is greater than earthly princes, yet he became a companion to poor, sincere-hearted men; and though he gave the clearest evidence that Divine power attended him, yet the most unfavourable constructions of his acts were framed by a self-righteous people; his miracles represented as the effect of a diabolical power, and endeavours used to render him hateful, as having his mission from the prince of darkness; nor did their envy cease until they took him like a criminal and brought him to trial. Though some may affect to carry the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehension of distress, our dear Redeemer, who was perfectly sincere, having the same human nature which we have, and feeling, a little before he was apprehended, the weight of that work upon him, for which he came into the world, was "sorrowful even unto death." Here the human nature struggled to be excused from a cup so bitter; but his prayers centered in resignation, "Not my will but thine be done." In this conflict, so great was his agony that "sweat like drops of blood fell from him to the ground."

Behold now, as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the transgressors."—Behold him as some poor man of no reputation, standing

before the high priest and elders, and before Herod and Pilate, where witnesses appear against him, and he, mindful of the most gracious design of his coming, declineth to plead in his own defence, "but as a sheep that is dumb before his shearer," so under many accusations, revilings and buffetings, he remained silent. And though he signified to Peter that he had access to power sufficient to overthrow all their outward forces; yet retaining a resignation to suffer for the sins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them to go on in their malicious designs, and pronounce him to be worthy of death, even him who was perfect in goodness. Thus, "in his humiliation his judgment was taken away," and like some vile criminal, "he was led as a lamb to the slaughter." Under these heavy trials, though poor unstable Pilate was convinced of his innocence, yet the people generally looked upon him as a deceiver and a blasphemer, and the approaching punishment as a just judgment upon him: "They esteemed him smitten of God and afflicted." So great had been the surprise of his disciples, at his being taken by armed men, that they "forsook him and fled:" thus they hid their faces from him, he was despised, and by their conduct it appeared as though "they esteemed him not."

But contrary to that opinion, of his being smitten of God and afflicted, it was for our sakes that "he was put to grief; he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities;" and under the weight of them, manifesting the deepest compassion for the instruments of his misery, he laboured as their advocate, and in the deeps of affliction, with an unconquerable patience, cried out, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

Now this mind being in us, which was in Cnrist Jesus, it removes from our hearts the desire of superiority, worldly honour or greatness; a deep attention is felt to the Divine Counsellor, and an ardent engagement to promote as far as we may be enabled, the happiness of mankind universally. This state, where every motion from a selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may with gratitude to the Father of mercies acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after; attended with a living concern, that amongst the many nations and families on the earth, those who believe in the Messiah, that "he was manifested to destroy the works of the devil," and thus to "take away the sins of the world," may experience the will of our heavenly Father, "to be done on earth as it is in heaven." Strong are the desires I often feel, that this holy profession may remain unpolluted, and that the believers in Christ may so abide in the pure inward feeling of his Spirit, that the wisdom from above may shine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be instrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.

CHAPTER III.

On Merchandising.

Where the treasures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow Him who is the light of life, the mind becomes chaste; and a care is felt, that the unction from the holy One may be our leader in every undertaking.

In being crucified to the world, broken off from that

friendship which is enmity with God, and dead to the customs and fashions which have not their foundation in the Truth; the way is prepared to lowliness in outward living, and to a disentanglement from those snares which attend the love of money; and where the faithful friends of Christ are so situated that merchandising appears to be their duty, they feel a restraint from going farther than he owns their proceeding; being convinced that "we are not our own, but are bought with a price, that none of us may live to ourselves, but to Him who died for us." Thus they are taught not only to keep to a moderate advance and uprightness in their dealings, but to consider the tendency of their proceeding; to do nothing which they know would operate against the cause of universal righteousness, and to keep continually in view the spreading of the peaceable kingdom of Christ amongst mankind.

The prophet Isaiah spoke of the gathered church, in the similitude of a city, where many being employed were all preserved in purity; "They shall call them the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord, and thou shalt be called, sought out, a city not forsaken." The apostle after mentioning the mystery of Christ's sufferings, exhorts "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation." There is a conversation necessary in trade; and there is a conversation so foreign from the nature of Christ's kingdom, that it is represented in the similitude of one man pushing another with a warlike weapon; "There is that speaketh like the piercing of a sword." In all our concerns it is necessary that the leading of the Spirit of Christ be humbly waited for and faithfully followed, as the only means of being preserved chaste as an holy people, who "in all things are circumspect;" that nothing

we do may carry the appearance of approbation of the works of wickedness, make the unrighteous more at ease in unrighteousness, or occasion the injuries committed against the oppressed to be more lightly looked over.

Where morality is kept to and supported by the inhabitants of a country, there is a certain reproach attends those individuals amongst them, who manifestly deviate therefrom. Thus if a person of good report is charged with stealing goods out of an open shop in the day time, and on a public trial is found guilty, and the law in that case is put in execution, he therein sustains a loss of reputation; but if he be convicted a second and third time of the like offence, his good name would cease amongst such who knew these things. If his neighbour, reputed to be an honest man, is charged with buying goods of this thief, at a time when the purchaser knew they were stolen, and on a public trial is found guilty, this purchaser would meet with disesteem; but if he persisted in buying stolen goods, knowing them to be such, and was publicly convicted thereof a second and third time, he would no longer be considered as an honest man by those who knew these things; nor would it appear of good report to be found in his company, or buying his traffic, until some evident tokens of sincere repentance appeared in him. But where iniquity is committed openly, and the authors of it are not brought to justice or put to shame, their hands grow strong. Thus the general corruption of the Jews shortly before their state was broken up by the Chaldeans, is described by their boldness in impiety; for as their leaders were connected together in wickedness, they strengthened one another and grew confident. "Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were

not at all ashamed, neither could they blush;" on which account the Lord thus expostulates with them, "What hath my beloved to do in my house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many? and the holy flesh is passed from thee: when thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest."

The faithful friends of Christ, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and inwardly breathe that his kingdom may come on earth as it is in heaven, are taught by him to be quick of understanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteousness in the earth; and as shame is due to those whose works manifestly operate against the gracious design of his sufferings for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong customs, however supported, may bias their judgments, but that they may humbly abide under the cross, and be preserved in a conduct which may not contribute to strengthen the hands of the wicked in their wickedness, or to remove shame from those to whom it is justly due. The coming of that day is precious in which we experience the truth of this expression, "The Lord our righteousness," and feel him to be "made unto us wisdom and sanctification."

The example of a righteous man is often looked at with attention. Where righteous men join in business their company gives encouragement to others; and as one grain of incense deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God in that state unacceptable, and from those esteemed leaders of the people may be injurious to the weak; it requires deep humility of heart to follow him faithfully, who alone gives sound wisdom and the spirit of true discerning. O how necessary it is to consider the weight of a holy profession!

The conduct of some formerly, gave occasion of com-

plaint against them, "Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic." And in several places it is charged against Israel that they had polluted the holy Name.

The prophet Isaiah represents inward sanctification in the similitude of being purged from that which is fuel for fire; and particularly describes the outward fruits, brought forth by those who dwell in this inward holiness, "they walk righteously, and speak uprightly." By walking he represents the journey through life, as a righteous journey; and "by speaking uprightly," seems to point at that which Moses appears to have had in view, when he thus expressed himself, "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, nor speak in a case to decline after many to wrest judgment."

He goes on to show their firmness in equity; representing them as persons superior to all the arts of getting money, which have not righteousness for their foundation; "They despise the gain of oppressions:" and he further shows how careful they are that no prospects of gain may induce them to become partial in judgment respecting an injury; "They shake their hands from holding bribes."

Again, where any interest is so connected with shedding blood, that the cry of innocent blood goes also with it; he points out their care to keep innocent blood from crying against them, in the similitude of a man stopping his ears to prevent a sound from entering his head, "They stop their ears from hearing of blood;" and where they know that wickedness is committed, he points out with care, that they do not by an unguarded friendship with the authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers on, but as people so deeply affected with sorrow,

that they cannot endure to stand by and behold it; this he represents in the similitude of a man "shutting his eyes from seeing evil."

"Who amongst us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who amongst us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly. He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil."

He proceeds in the spirit of prophecy to show how the faithful being supported under temptations, would be preserved from the defilement which there is in the love of money; that as they who, in a reverent waiting on God, feel their strength renewed, are said to "mount upward;" so here their preservation from the snare of unrighteous gain, is represented in the likeness of a man, borne up above all crafty, artful means of getting the advantage of another, "They shall dwell on high;" and he points out the stability and firmness of their condition, "His place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks;" and that under all the outward appearances of loss, in denying himself of gainful profits for righteousness sake, through the care of Him who provides for the sparrows, he should have a supply answerable to infinite wisdom, "Bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure." And as our Saviour mentions the sight of God to be attainable by "the pure in heart," so here the prophet pointed out, how in true sanctification the understanding is opened, to behold the peaceable harmonious nature of his kingdom, "thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty;" and that looking beyond all the afflictions which attend the righteous, to "a habitation

eternal in the heavens," with an eye divinely opened, they "shall behold the land that is very far off."

"He shall dwell on high, his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks, bread shall be given him, his water shall be sure. Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off."

I often remember, and to me the subject is awful, that the great Judge of all the earth doeth that which is right, and that he "before whom the nations are as the drop of a bucket," is "no respecter of persons." Happy for them, who like the inspired prophet, "in the way of his judgments, wait for him."

When we feel him to sit as a refiner with fire, and know a resignedness wrought in us, to that which he appoints for us, his blessing in a very low estate, is found to be more precious than much outward treasure, in those ways of life where the leadings of his Spirit are not followed.

The prophet, in a sight of the Divine work amongst many people, declared in the name of the Lord, "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." And again, "from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name shall be great amongst the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering."

Behold here how the prophets had an inward sense of the spreading of the kingdom of Christ; and how he was spoken of as one who should "take the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession;" that "he was given for a light to the Gentiles; and for salvation to the ends of the earth."

When we meditate on this Divine work, as a work of

ages; a work that the prophets felt long before Christ appeared visibly on earth, and remember the bitter agonies he endured when he "poured out his soul unto death," that the heathen nations as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved; when we contemplate this marvellous work, as that which "the angels desire to look into," and behold people amongst whom this light hath eminently broken forth, and who have received many favours from the bountiful hand of our heavenly Father, not only indifferent with respect to publishing the glad tidings amongst the Gentiles, as yet sitting in darkness and entangled with many superstitions; but aspiring after wealth and worldly honours, and taking means to obtain their ends, tending to stir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of Christianity—when these things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the subject?

It is worthy of remembrance, that people in different ages, deeply baptized into the nature of that work for which Christ suffered, have joyfully offered up their liberty and lives for promoting it in the earth.

Policarp, who was reputed a disciple of St. John, having attained to great age, was at length sentenced to die for his religion, and being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows, "Thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers, and of every living creature, and of all sorts of just men who live in thy presence; I thank thee, that thou hast graciously vouchsafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Christ, unto the resurrection of everlasting life; among

whom I shall be received in thy sight, this day, as a fruitful and acceptable sacrifice: wherefore for all this, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee through the everlasting High Priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, world without end. Amen."

Bishop Latimer, when sentence of death by fire, was pronounced against him, on account of his firmness in the cause of religion, said, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may, in this case glorify him by this kind of death." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 936.

William Dewsbury, who had suffered much for his religion, in his last sickness, encouraging his friends to faithfulness, made mention, like good old Jacob, of the loving-kindness of God to him in the course of his life, and that through the power of Divine love, he for Christ's sake had joyfully entered prisons.

I mention these, as a few examples, out of many, of the powerful operation of the Spirit of Christ, where people are fully devoted to it, and of the ardent longings in their minds for the spreading of his kingdom amongst mankind. Now to those, in the present age, who truly know Christ, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their understandings, how loud is the call wherewith we are called to faithfulness; that in following this pure light of life, "we as workers together with him," may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a sacrifice on the cross; and that his peaceable doctrines may shine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the name of Christianity has become hateful to many of the heathen.

When Gehazi had obtained treasures which the prophet

under Divine direction had refused, and was returned from the business; the prophet, troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for specious living. "Is it a time to receive money and garments, men servants and maid servants? The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever." O that we may lay to heart the condition of the present time, and humbly follow his counsel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongst mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

On Divine admonitions.

Such are the perfections of our heavenly Father, that in all the dispensations of his providence, it is our duty, "in every thing, to give thanks." Though from the first settlement of this part of America, he hath not extended his judgments to the degree of famine, yet worms at times have come forth beyond numbering, and laid waste fields of grain and grass, where they have appeared: another kind, in great multitudes, working out of sight, in grass ground, have so eaten the roots that the surface, being loosened from the soil beneath, might be taken off in great sheets.

These devouring creatures appearing seldom, and coming in such multitudes, their generation appears different from most other reptiles, and by the prophet they were called "God's army sent amongst the people."

There have been tempests of hail, which have very much destroyed the grain where they extended. Through

long drought in summer, grain in some places has been less than half the usual quantity;* and in the continuance thereof, I have beheld with attention, from week to week, how dryness from the top of the earth, hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languished; and with reverence my mind has been turned toward Him, who being perfect in goodness, in wisdom and power, doeth all things right. After long drought, when the sky has grown dark with a collection of matter, and clouds like lakes of water have hung over our heads, from whence the thirsty land has been soaked; I have at times, with awfulness beheld the vehement operation of lightning, made sometimes to accompany these blessings, as a messenger from Him who created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right use of those benefits, and to give striking admonitions, that we do not misapply those gifts, in which an Almighty power is exerted, in bestowing them upon us.

When I have considered that many of our fellow-creatures suffer much in some places, for want of the necessaries of life, whilst those who rule over them are too much given to luxury and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wisdom amongst us, in the use of the outward gifts of God; those marks of famine have appeared like humbling admonitions from him, that we might be instructed by gentle chastisements, and might seriously consider our ways; remembering that the outward supply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we should not venture to use, or to apply his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wisdom.

* When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the case of poor tenants may be mercifully considered.

Should we continue to reject those merciful admonitions, and use his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious design of the giver, or send them abroad in a way of trade, which the Spirit of Truth doth not lead into; and should he whose eyes are upon all our ways, extend his chastisements so far as to reduce us to much greater distress than hath yet been felt by these provinces; with what sorrow of heart might we meditate on that saying, "Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way? Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts."

My mind has often been affected with sorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our heavenly Father; and those expressions concerning the defilement of the earth hath been opened to my understanding, "The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence." Again, "The earth also, is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have broken the everlasting covenant."

The earth being the work of a Divine power, may not as such be accounted unclean; but when violence is committed thereon, and the channel of righteousness so obstructed, that "in our skirts are found the blood of the souls of poor innocents; not by a secret search but upon all these"*—when blood, shed unrighteously, remains unatoned for, and the inhabitants are not effect-

* See a Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her colonies page 31

ually purged from it, when they do not wash their hands in innocency, as was figured in the law, in the case of one being found slain; but seek for gain arising from scenes of violence and oppression, here the land is polluted with blood. Deut. xxi, 6.

Moreover, when the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to support unrighteous purposes; here the gracious design of Infinite Goodness, in these his gifts, being perverted, the earth is defiled; and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable; "Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins; thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities."

REMARKS ON SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

FIRST PRINTED IN LONDON, 1773.

CHAPTER I

On loving our neighbours as ourselves.

When we love the Lord with all our hearts, and his creatures in his love, we are then preserved in tenderness both toward mankind and the animal creation; but if another spirit gets room in our minds, and we follow it in our proceedings, we are then in the way of disordering the affairs of society.

If a man, successful in business, expends part of his income in things of no real use, while the poor employed by him pass through great difficulties in getting the necessaries of life, this requires his serious attention.

If several principal men in business unite in setting the wages of those who work for hire, and therein have regard to a profit to themselves, answerable to unnecessary expense in their families, while the wages of the others on a moderate industry will not afford a comfortable living for their families, and a proper education for their children; this is like laying a temptation in the way of some to strive for a place higher than they are in, when they have not stock sufficient for it.

I feel a concern in the spring of pure love, that all who have plenty of outward substance, may example others

in the right use of things; may carefully look in o the condition of poor people, and beware of exacting on them with regard to their wages.

While hired labourers, by moderate industry, through the Divine blessing, may live comfortably, rear up families, and give them suitable education, it appears reasonable for them to be contented with their wages.

If they who have plenty, love their fellow-creatures in that love which is Divine, and in all their proceedings have an equal regard to the good of mankind universally, their place in society is a place of care, an office requiring attention, and the more we possess, the greater is our trust, and with an increase of treasure, an increase of care becomes necessary.

When our will is subject to the will of God, and in relation to the things of this world, we have nothing in view, but a comfortable living equally with the rest of our fellow-creatures, then outward treasures are no further desirable than as we feel a gift in our minds equal to the trust, and strength to act as dutiful children in His service, who hath formed all mankind, and appointed a subsistence for us in this world.

A desire for treasures on any other motive, appears to be against that command of our blessed Saviour, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth."

He forbids not laying up in the summer against the wants of winter; nor doth he teach us to be slothful in that which properly relates to our being in this world; but in this prohibition he puts in *yourselves*, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth."

Now in the pure light, this language is understood, for in the love of Christ there is no respect of persons; and while we abide in his love, we live not to ourselves,

out to him who died for us. And as we are thus united in spirit to Christ, we are engaged to labour in promoting that work in the earth for which he suffered.

In this state of mind our desires are, that every honest member in society may have a portion of treasure and share of trust, answerable to that gift, with which our heavenly Father hath gifted us.

In great treasure, there is a great trust.

A great trust requireth great care.

But the laborious mind wants rest.

A pious man is content to do a share of business in society, answerable to the gifts with which he is endowed while the channels of business are free from unrighteourness, but is careful lest at any time his heart be overcharged.

In the harmonious spirit of society "Christ is all in all."

Here it is that "old things are put away, all things are become new, all things are of God," and the desire for outward riches is at an end.

They of low degree who have small gifts, enjoy the help of those who have large gifts; those with small gifts, have a small degree of care, while those with large gifts, have a large degree of care: and thus to abide in the love of Christ, and enjoy a comfortable living in this world, is all that is aimed at by those members in society, to whom Christ is made wisdom and righteousness.

But when they who have much treasure, are not faithful stewards of the gifts of God, great difficulties attend.

This matter hath deeply affected my mind. The Lord, through merciful chastisements, hath given me a feeling of that love, in which the harmony of society standeth, and a sight of the growth of that seed which bringeth forth

wars and great calamities in the world; and a labour attends me to open it to others.

To act with integrity, according to that strength of mind and body with which our Creator hath endowed each of us, appears necessary for all, and he who thus stands in the lowest station, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a living, as he whose gifts of mind are greater, and whose cares are most extensive.

If some endowed with strong understanding as men, abide not in the harmonious state, in which we "love our neighbours as ourselves," but walk in that spirit in which the children of this world are wise in their generation; these by the strength of contrivance may sometimes gather great treasure. But the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God; and if we gather treasures in worldly wisdom, we lay up "treasures for ourselves;" and great treasure managed in any other spirit, than the Spirit of Truth, disorder the affairs of society; for hereby the good gifts of God in his outward creation are turned into the channels of worldly honour, and frequently applied to support luxury, while the wages of poor labourers are such, that with moderate industry and frugality they may not live comfortably, rear up families, and give them suitable education, but through the straitness of their condition, are often drawn on to labour under weariness, to toil through hardships themselves, and frequently to oppress those useful animals with which we are entrusted.

From age to age, throughout all ages, Divine love is that alone, in which dominion has been, is, and will be rightly conducted.

In this the endowments of men are so employed, that

the friend and the governor are united in one, and oppressive customs come to an end.

Riches in the hands of individuals in society, are attended with some degree of power; and so far as power is put forth separate from pure love, so far the government of the Prince of peace is interrupted; and as we know not that our children after us will dwell in that state in which power is rightly applied, to lay up riches for them appears to be against the nature of his government.

The earth, through the labour of men, under the blessing of Him who formed it, yieldeth a supply for the inhabitants from generation to generation, and they who walk in the pure light, have their minds prepared to taste and relish not only those blessings which are spiritual, but also feel a sweetness and satisfaction in a right use of the good gifts of God in the visible creation.

Here we see that man's happiness stands not in great possessions, but in a heart devoted to follow Christ, in that use of things, where customs contrary to universal love have no power over us.

In this state our hearts are prepared to trust in God, and our desires for our children and posterity are, that they, with the rest of mankind in ages to come, may be of that number of whom he hath said, "I will be a father to them, and they shall be my sons and daughters."

When wages in a fruitful land bear so small a proportion to the necessaries of life, that poor honest people who have families, cannot by a moderate industry attain to a comfortable living, and give their children sufficient learning, but must either labour to a degree of oppression, or else omit that which appears to be a duty, while this is the case with the poor, there is an inclina

tion in the minds of most people, to prepare at least so much treasure for their children, that they with care and moderate industry may live free from the hardships which the poor pass through.

This subject requires our serious consideration: to labour that our children may be put in a way to live comfortably, appears in itself to be a duty, so long as our labours are consistent with universal righteousness, but if in striving to shun poverty, we do not walk in that state where "Christ is our life," then we wander. "He that hath the Son, hath life." "This life is the light of men." If we walk not in this light, we walk in darkness, and "he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth."

To keep to right means in labouring to attain a right end is necessary: if in striving to shun poverty, we strive only in that state where Christ is the light of our life, our labours will stand in the true harmony of society; but if people are confident that the end aimed at is good, and in this confidence pursue it so eagerly, as not to wait for the Spirit of Truth to lead them, then they come to loss. "Christ is given to be a leader and commander of the people." Again, "The Lord shall guide thee continually." Again, "Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us, for thou also hast wrought all our works in us." "In the Lord have we righteousness and strength."

In this state our minds are preserved watchful in following the leadings of his Spirit in all our proceedings, and a care is felt for a reformation in general; that our own posterity, with the rest of mankind in succeeding ages, may not be entangled by oppressive customs, transmitted to them through our hands. But if people in the narrowness of natural love, are afraid that their children will be

oppressed by the rich, and through an eager desire to get treasures, depart from the pure leadings of Truth in one case, though it may seem to be a small matter, yet the mind even in that small matter may be emboldened to continue in a way of proceeding, without waiting for the Divine Leader.

Thus people may grow expert in business, wise in the wisdom of this world, retain a fair reputation amongst men, and yet being strangers to the voice of Christ, the safe leader of his flock, the treasures thus gotten, may be like snares to the feet of their posterity.

In keeping faithful to the pure Counsellor, and under trying circumstances suffering adversity for righteousness sake, there is a reward.

If we being poor, are hardly dealt with by those who are rich, and under this difficulty are frugal and industrious, and in true humility open our case to them who oppress us, this may reach the pure witness in their minds; and though we should remain under difficulties as to the outward, yet if we abide in the love of Christ, all will work for our good.

When we feel what it is to suffer in the true suffering state, we experience the truth of those expressions, that "as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation aboundeth by Christ."

But if poor people who are hardly dealt with, do not attain to the true suffering state, do not labour in true love with those who deal hardly with them, but envy their outward greatness, murmur in their hearts because of their own poverty, and strive in the wisdom of this world to get riches for themselves and their children, this is like wandering in the dark.

If we who are of a middle station between riches and

poverty, are affected at times with the oppressions of the poor, and feel a tender regard for our posterity after us; O how necessary is it that we wait for the pure counsel of Truth!

Many who have seen the hardships of the poor, have felt an eager desire that their children may be put in a way to escape these hardships; but how few have continued in that pure love which openeth our understandings to proceed rightly under these difficulties!

How few have faithfully followed that holy Leader who prepares his people to labour for the restoration of true harmony amongst our fellow-creatures!

"In the pure Gospel spirit we walk by faith and not by sight."

In the obedience of faith we die to the narrowness of self-love, and our life being hid with Christ in God, our hearts are enlarged toward mankind universally; but in departing from the true light of life, many in striving to get treasures have stumbled upon the dark mountains.

That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the Spirit of Truth, that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom, this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where we may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we may have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us.

Through departing from the Truth as it is in Jesus, through introducing ways of life attended with unnecessary expenses, many wants have arisen, the minds of people have been employed in studying to get wealth, and in this pursuit some departing from equity, have

retained a profession of religion; others have looked at their example, and thereby been strengthened to proceed further in the same way: thus many have encouraged the trade of taking men from Africa and selling them as slaves.

It has been computed that nearly one hundred thousand negroes have of late years been taken annually from that coast, by ships employed in the English trade.

As I have travelled on religious visits in some parts of America, I have seen many of these people under the command of overseers, in a painful servitude.

I have beheld them as Gentiles under people professing Christianity, not only kept ignorant of the holy Scriptures, but under great provocations to wrath; of whom it may truly be said, "They that rule over them make them to howl, and the holy Name is abundantly blasphemed." Where children are taught to read the Sacred Writings while young, and exampled in meekness and humility, it is often helpful to them; nor is this any more than a debt due from us to a succeeding age.

But where youth are pinched for want of the necessaries of life, forced to labour hard under the harsh rebukes of rigorous overseers, and many times endure unmerciful whippings; in such an education how great are the disadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do these things work against the increase of the government of the Prince of peace.

Humphrey Smith, in his works, page 125, speaking of the tender feelings of the love of God in his heart when he was a child, said, "By the violent wrathful nature that ruled in others, was my quietness disturbed, and anger begotten in me toward them, yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his love was felt in my heart, and great was my grief when the earthly-minded

ness and wrathful nature so provoked me, that I was estranged from it.

"And this I write as a warning to parents and others, that in the fear of the living God you may train up the youth, and may not be a means of bringing them into such alienation."

Many are the vanities and luxuries of the present age, and in labouring to support a way of living conformable to the present world, the departure from that wisdom that is pure and peaceable, has been great.

Under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, my life has been often a life of mourning, and tender desires are raised in me, that the nature of this practice may be laid to heart.

I have read some books written by people who were acquainted with the manner of getting slaves in Africa. I have had verbal relations of this nature from several negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk English.

I have sundry times heard Englishmen speak on this subject, who have been in Africa on this business; and from all these accounts it appears evident that great violence is committed, and much blood shed in Africa in getting slaves.

When three or four hundred slaves are put in the hold of a vessel in a hot climate, their breathing soon affects the air. Were that number of free people to go passengers with all things proper for their voyage, there would inconvenience arise from their number; but slaves are taken by violence, and they frequently endeavour to kill the white people, that they may return to their native land. Hence they are kept under confinement, by means of which a scent ariseth in the hold of a ship, and distem-

pers often break out amongst them, of which many die. Of this tainted air in the hold of ships freighted with slaves, I have had several accounts, some in print and some verbal, and all agree that the scent is grievous. When these people are sold in America and in the islands, they are made to labour in a manner more servile and constant, than that which they were used to at home, that with grief, with different diet from what has been common with them, and with hard labour, some thousands are computed to die every year, in what is called the seasoning.*

* In perusing the writings of this worthy man, the reader cannot fail to observe how large a portion of his attention was occupied in contemplating the wrongs and cruelties of negro slavery and the slave trade, and how deeply and tenderly he sympathised with the suffering victims of those crying evils. The firm but temperate tone of his writings in relation to them, and his earnest and moving remonstrances with the oppressors, are models worthy of imitation. It is the benign, the just and the merciful spirit of the Gospel which must eradicate slavery from our country if it is done by peaceful methods; and the closer we keep to the leadings of this spirit, the more successful will be our efforts in this righteous cause. If the evils attendant on slavery, occasioned so much painful concern and exercise of mind to John Woolman, at the time in which he lived, how much more deeply would he suffer now, when the number of its helpless victims is so vastly multiplied. We must not admit the idea, that praiseworthy as were his sympathy and benevolent exertions on behalf of these oppressed people, they were suited to other times and other circumstances than those under which we live, and that we are exempted from the obligation of those principles and feelings which actuated him and his fellow-labourers in the cause of suffering humanity. Within these United States, more than two millions of our fellow-beings are groaning under the wrongs and cruelties of hopeless, unconditional bondage, and we cannot doubt

Thus it appears evident, that great numbers of these people are brought every year to an untimely end; many of them being persons who never injured us.

Where the innocent suffer under hard-hearted men,

but that the sighs and the tears extorted from them by the iron hand of oppression, are noticed by that gracious and impartial Being, who made of one blood all the families of the earth, and who declares himself to be the refuge of the poor, the refuge of the needy in his distress.

Since the enactment of laws for the abolishment of the foreign slave-trade and declaring it piracy, it has claimed but a small share of the public attention, and the idea seems to have obtained considerable currency, that it had nearly ceased. But the truth is, that not only the extent of the traffic is greatly increased, but the horrors and cruelties attendant on its prosecution are dreadfully aggravated. The trade being contraband, the vessels employed in it are constructed for fast sailing, in order to elude the vigilance of the cruisers who are watching them. This mode of construction diminishes the space allowed the poor slaves and increases their sufferings to a frightful degree, while the laws which regulated the number of slaves taken on board, in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, and made some other humane provisions to lessen their sufferings, are of course all inoperative. Thus the wretched victims of this abominable traffic are wholly at the mercy of a class of men, who seem actuated only by cupidity and the worst passions which degrade the human species.

The following statements founded mainly on official documents, will give some idea of the present state of the foreign slave-trade.

It appears that after making ample allowance for all doubtful cases, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand slaves are annually imported from Africa into Cuba, Brazil and Porto Rico, besides a large number, (not less than fifty thousand more) who are carried every year to Texas, the United States and other countries.

As these slaves are chiefly the victims of rapine, or poison

even unto death, and the channels of equity are so obstructed, that the cause of the sufferers is not judged in righteousness, "the land is polluted with blood."

taken in predatory warfare, the number who are killed in procuring them is great, not less probably than those who are captured. During the long forced marches to the sea-coast, over burning sands, destitute of food and of water, and subjected to great cruelties, vast numbers perish; and while waiting for a market at the places of deposit on the sea-board, contagious diseases and sickness occasioned by grief, confinement and starvation, occasion great mortality.

On the passage across the Atlantic, it is well ascertained, that the deaths are fully twenty-five per cent. of the whole number shipped; and of those who are landed at the place of destination, twenty per cent. die in the seasoning and from other causes.

Thus we are warranted in the conclusion, that at a moderate estimate, for the two hundred thousand slaves annually taken from Africa, three hundred thousand are sacrificed, and that the continent is thus despoiled of half a million of its inhabitants every year.

We have already said that many of the slaves were prisoners of war:

These wars are not the consequence of a disposition naturally quarrelsome, but are the immediate offspring of cupidity, sharpened up and roused to action by the arrival of a slave ship. Others of these wretched beings are the innocent victims of a corrupt system of jurisprudence, which owes its existence to the same fruitful source of human misery. This unjust system places the poor natives wholly at the mercy of the petty despots who rule the country. He who has enriched himself by his industry, or who has a numerous family of fine children, the sale of which would produce a handsome sum, seldom escapes the notice of his chieftain. Crimes are invented and promoted, and accusations multiplied, solely with the hope of procuring condemnations, the punishment annexed to which is, 'Sale to the Slave

Where blood hath been shed unrighteously, and remains unatoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing.

Under the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart, and I feel

Merchant.' Many are the victims of a system of avowed rapine and plunder—peacefully pursuing their agricultural or mechanical occupations, they are seized by ruffians who had concealed themselves in ambush, are gagged, bound, and borne away to the slave ship. All these are the effects of the strong temptations held out by the white men who visit their shores, to procure cargoes of slaves; for the natives, when unprovoked by their artifices, evince mild and pacific dispositions; but no sooner does a ship drop anchor, than avarice, hatred, revenge, and all the malevolent passions which agitate the human breast, seem at once roused into action.

Upon the authority of Mungo Parke, an eye witness of the facts, and whose interesting travels in Africa are before the public, we state the following facts:—Those who are captured or stolen in the vicinity of the sea-coast, suffer comparatively but little from the fatigue of travelling; but such as are brought from the interior of the country endure the most grievous sufferings during a journey of several moons, over rugged rocks and burning sands, and through inhospitable and dangerous deserts. They are secured by locking the right leg of one and the left leg of another in the same pair of fetters, which they must support by a string in order to enable them to walk without very great torture. Every four slaves are tied together by a rope of strong twisted thongs, passed round their necks, and at night an additional pair of fetters is put upon their hands. The scorching heat of the sun and sand, the weight of their irons, added to the burdens which they are compelled to carry, weary and oppress them to so dreadful a degree as to induce sickness, vomiting, and frequently fainting; but regardless of their sufferings, they are goaded and spurred along by the cruel application of the lacerating lash, till many actually expire under their complicated miseries.

In an investigation into the character and effects of the slave

a concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my mind.

When "the iniquity of the house of Israel and of Judah was exceedingly great, when the land was defiled

trade, which took place before a committee of the British Parliament, numerous witnesses who were examined under the solemn obligation of an oath or affirmation, agree in stating that when on board the vessels, the slaves appear melancholy and dejected, that many continue so during the whole of the voyage, and that their dejection evidently arises from the anguish of their feelings on being separated forever from their country, their homes, their beloved families and friends. From the same respectable and authentic source we draw the following information:—The men are chained together in pairs—the right leg of one is fettered to the left leg of another, in which situation they are stowed into the hold of the vessel—the women and children, however, are not chained and ironed like the men. When the weather is fair, they are brought up out of their prisons for the benefit of a pure air, and to take their meals. For this purpose the men are distributed on the deck in long rows, two by two, from head to stern, but to prevent their rising, and to secure them from jumping overboard, which they often attempt, a long chain is passed through the irons of each couple and locked down to the deck at both ends.

When the vessel is full, their condition is wretched indeed. In the best regulated ships, a full grown man has no more space allowed him to lie upon than sixteen inches, which is less than he would have in a coffin—while the height of the apartment is about thirty-two inches. There are few vessels, however, in which even this limited space is allowed them. In many they are so closely stowed that the poor creatures are compelled to lie upon their sides, while the top of the hold in which they are crammed is so very low as wholly to prevent their sitting upright. Besides all these evils, they are entirely naked, and lie upon the bare boards, in which situation the constant motion of the vessel bruises and excoriates different parts of their bodies—the rubbing

with blood, and the city full of perverseness; some were found sighing and crying for the abominations of the times." And those who live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, I trust will be sensible that the

of their irons lacerates and inflames their legs, occasioning constant torture, from which they can seldom procure even the smallest intermission.

But horrible beyond all description, are the agonies which they endure, when it blows a heavy gale, and the hatchings and gratings are of necessity shut down. No language can possibly portray even a faint picture of their deplorable condition. In the extremity of anguish they are often heard to cry out in the language of their country, "We are dying! We are dying!" Imagine to yourselves several hundreds of human beings shut up close in the hold of a vessel in a warm climate, the circulation of air wholly excluded, while the heat, the excretions of their bodies, and the filth of the boards they lie upon, are emitting the most noisome effluvia—add to this, the dreadful effects of the increased motion of the vessel, the shrieks of the swooning, and the groans of the dying, and your imagination may present some idea of what these miserable beings are compelled to suffer in a voyage to our country. The steam which comes at this time from their bodies, and which ascends through the little crevices of the gratings, has been compared by some of the witnesses, to that which issues from the mouth of a furnace. Many of them fainting from the heat, stench and corrupted air, have been brought upon deck in a dying state, while others have actually expired of suffocation, who but a few hours before were in apparent health. Horrible as this description may appear, many circumstances are omitted which would greatly aggravate it. We can refer to the most credible testimony for cases, where they have been afflicted with contagious diseases, especially the flux, when, says one of the witnesses, the floor of their prison was covered with blood and mucus like that of a slaughter-house.—See the Evidence before the Committee of Parliament before referred to.

Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad customs when they become general, that people growing bold through the example one of another, have often been unmoved at the most serious warnings.

It is not surprising that these poor creatures, groaning under the horrors of such complicated misery should seek that relief in death, which they have no reason to hope for from any other source, and hence it is that opportunities for destroying themselves are anxiously watched for and seized with an avidity almost beyond belief. The most common method of effecting this, is by throwing themselves into the sea, although every avenue of escape by such means is carefully guarded. The men are not only locked to the deck as before mentioned, but strong nettings are fastened around the ship which reach from the deck to a considerable height in the rigging. But notwithstanding these precautions, and the terrible example of shooting some who attempt to leap overboard, the instances where they thus destroy themselves are numerous, and where they are frustrated in the attempt this way, they resort to other means to attain their object. The keenest foresight on the part of their oppressors cannot always prevent them. When ropes have been left about the deck, some have seized the opportunity and strangled themselves—when small instruments, or even pieces of iron have come within their reach, others have been discovered to have made mortal wounds with them upon their bodies, and many to whom all these means have failed, resolutely refuse to take any sustenance, when after pining in great misery for several days, the welcome hand of death has at last terminated their sufferings. Numerous are the instances of females of very delicate temperament of body and mind, whose feelings are more tender, and who have a more acute sense of their situation, but possess less resolution, where a continually increasing melancholy has terminated in madness, in which pitiable condition they have remained for the short remnant of their days. Such are the melancholy scenes which are continually passing on board the

Our blessed Saviour speaking of the people of the old world, said, "They eat, they drank, they married and were given in marriage, until the day that Noah went into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all."

slave ships from the period of leaving the coast of Africa, until they arrive at the place of destination, during which time a considerable mortality occurs. From the evidence before quoted, it appears that out of seven thousand nine hundred and four slaves who sailed with the witnesses at different times, two thousand and fifty-three perished in the short space of six or eight weeks, though all of them were young and healthy when brought on board—the oldest slave seldom being more than twenty-five years of age. What a murderous, what a cruel devastation of the human race is hereby occasioned! What an impious rebellion against the will and the designs of a benificent Providence!

It is impossible that men can frequently participate in such scenes as those we have been endeavouring to describe, without becoming hardened in cruelty and in wickedness. There is no doubt that many when they first commence this diabolical employ, find it necessary to suppress and stifle the feelings of humanity; but every suppression of benevolent feeling does violence to the tenderness of the human heart; it steels and blunts its virtuous sensibility, and prepares it for the commission of acts of greater atrocity. Such is precisely the case of slave traders. By degrees they are brought to view with indifference, and then to perpetrate acts of the most shocking barbarity—acts, the bare recital of which would cause a feeling mind to shudder with abhorrence.—They are taught by repeated cruelties, to regard the cries, the tears, and the sufferings of a fellow-creature whom they have purchased, no more than they would the drowning of a fly! To the truth of our assertions let the following facts testify:

"On board a foreign ship called the Zong, many of the slaves had died, and the mortality was spreading so rapidly that the captain began to fear he should lose them all. He therefore

The like he spoke concerning the people of Sodom, who are also represented by the prophet, as haughty, luxurious and oppressive; "This was the sin of Sodom; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness were

came to the diabolical resolution of selecting those who were the most sickly and throwing them into the sea, conceiving that if he could plead a necessity for the deed, the loss of the slaves would fall upon the underwriters. The plea which he proposed to set up, was want of water, though neither the crew nor the slaves had been put upon allowance. He selected accordingly one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly, fifty-four of whom were immediately thrown overboard, and forty-two on the succeeding day. But here the wretch was left without the shadow of an excuse, for a shower of rain came on, which lasted for three days. Notwithstanding this, the remaining twenty-six were brought on deck to share the same fate. The first sixteen submitted to be thrown into the sea, but the remainder would not permit any of the crew to touch them, but leaped in after their companions. These circumstances were all fully proved before a court of justice, held at Guildhall, in London, in the prosecution of a suit brought to recover their value from the insurers—the result of which however, was, that the loss was adjudged to fall upon the owners.

"The case of the Rodeur, captain B———, a French vessel of two hundred tons burden, is remarkable. She left Havre for the coast of Africa, where she arrived and anchored before Bonny, in the river Calabar, and took in a cargo of slaves, contrary to the French law for the abolition of the trade. She soon after sailed with them for Guadaloupe. In about a fortnight, when the vessel had nearly reached the Equator, a dreadful ophthalmia, sore eyes, broke out among the negroes, and spread with alarming rapidity. By the advice of the surgeon to the ship, the negroes, who till then had been confined to the hold, were successively brought upon deck, in order that they might breathe a purer air; but it soon became necessary to abandon this salutary measure, for many of them leaped into the sea, embracing each other, un-

found in her, and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy."

In a revolt so deep as this, when much blood has been shed unrighteously, in carrying on the slave trade, and

daunted by the severity of the captain, who made a terrible example by shooting some and hanging others who attempted it The danger of the disease, and probably the cause of the contagion were increased, by a violent dysentery, which now broke out among them. The disorder increased daily, as well as the number of those who became blind; and it spread with such alarming rapidity among the crew, that in a little time there was only one man left who could steer the ship. At this period a large ship approached the Rodeur, which appeared to be totally at the mercy of the winds and waves. She was the Spanish slave ship St. Leon. Her crew, hearing the voices of the Rodeur's men, cried out most vehemently for help. They told the melancholy tale as they passed along, that the contagion had seized the eyes of all on board, and that there was not one individual left, either sailor or slave, who could see! But alas—this pitiable tale of woe was utterly in vain—no help could be given them—the St. Leon passed on and was never heard of more!

"At length by a concurrence of very favourable circumstances, and the skill and perseverance of one man, who only preserved his sight unimpaired, the Rodeur reached Guadaloupe. By this time thirty-nine of the slaves had become blind, twelve had lost one eye and fourteen were affected with blemishes. Out of the crew consisting of twenty-two, twelve had lost their sight, among whom was the surgeon, five had become blind of one eye, and four others were partially injured.

"Now what will the reader suppose was the first act of this captain and crew when they found themselves safely entering the port of Guadaloupe? Doubtless he will imagine they were employed in returning unfeigned thanks to God for so signal and so unmerited a deliverance. But he will mistake if he thinks so. They possessed neither gratitude to God nor humanity towards his creatures. Destitute of every virtuous and tender feeling, they

in supporting the practice of keeping slaves, which at this day is unatoned for, and crieth from the earth and from the seas against the oppressor; while this practice is continued, and under a great load of guilt there is

evinced their impious ingratitude by absolutely throwing into the sea all those slaves, to the number of thirty-nine, who were incurably blind. This they did upon the wicked plea that if they carried them on shore nobody would purchase them, and they would of course be at the expense of their maintenance; and further, by feigning an act of necessity, they might claim their value from the underwriters."

Sir George Collier of the Tartar frigate, gave chase to a vessel supposed to be a slave ship. In the course of the chase several casks were observed to be floating in the sea, which the Tartar passed. After a long pursuit they boarded her, and she proved to be the La Jeune Estelle, of Martinique, Olympia Sanguines, master. The captain declared that he had no slaves on board, having been plundered of them by a Spanish pirate. The agitation and alarm which marked every countenance on board the vessel, excited strong suspicions in the mind of the chief officer of the Tartar, and he ordered the hold to be searched. During the examination one of the sailors happened to strike a cask which was tightly closed up, when he heard a faint sound issue from it like the voice of some creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two slave girls, about twelve or fourteen years of age, in the last stage of suffocation were found packed up in it. They were carried on board the Tartar, revived by the fresh air, and were thus saved from a miserable death. These girls, when brought on the deck of the Tartar, were recognized by a person who had seen them in their own country, and who had been taken from another slave ship, as being the property of captain Richards, of the schooner Swift, of New York. An investigation afterwards took place, in the course of which, it appeared in evidence that captain Richards had died at Trade town on the coast of Africa, leaving behind him fourteen slaves, of whom these girls were a part; and that after his death, cap-

more unrighteousness committed, the state of things is very moving.

There is a love which stands in nature, and a parent beholding his child in misery hath a feeling of the afflic-

tain Sanguines had landed his men armed with swords and pistols, and carried off the whole fourteen slaves on board the Jeune Estelle. Sir George Collier conceiving that the other twelve might possibly be concealed in the vessel, ordered her researched. The result was that a negro man, not however of the twelve, was rescued from death. A platform of loose boards had been raised upon the water casks of the vessel, forming a between-decks of about twenty-three inches in height, which was the intended receptacle of the cargo of human beings which captain Sanguines designed to procure. Beneath this platform, with one of the boards resting upon his body, jammed into the crevice between two water casks, was found this wretched negro, in a situation so extremely distressing, that it was matter of great astonishment to find him alive. The search for the other twelve proving fruitless, the officers and crew of the Tartar recollected with feelings of horror the casks which they had seen floating on the ocean; the painful conviction now forced itself upon their minds that the captain, fearing lest he should be captured by the Tartar and detained, had during the chase, packed up his slaves in casks and thrown them into the sea; an apprehension which is corroborated by the reflection, that had he thrown them overboard without some such covering, their bodies would in all probability have met the view of the officers and crew of the Tartar, and disclosed the horrid catastrophe. But alas! it was now too late to attempt any plan for rescuing them. The chase had carried them many leagues to the windward of the casks, and should they even fall in with them, which was scarcely possible, there was not the smallest probability of finding any of the wretched negroes alive, for the casks being tight they must have perished from suffocation. See Papers laid on the table of the House of Commons—Report of Sir George Collier —Speech of Duc de Boglie—Report of African Institution, vol. 16.

tion; but in Divine love the heart is enlarged towards mankind universally, and prepared to sympathize with strangers, though in the lowest stations in life.

Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling,

The schooner ——, Don Morales, master, arrived in the Rio Pongos, where she took on board two hundred slaves. Our informant states, that Morales while trading for the cargo, exhibited many instances of savage ferocity toward the slaves, but after leaving the river, his cruelty seems to have had full scope.

The number of slaves on board being greatly disproportioned to the stowage of the schooner, he was obliged from the first to issue short rations of water and rice, in consequence of which some of the slaves evinced some signs of discontent. Morales, deaf to their wants, kept them all below for three days without food of any kind, and with a barbarity unparalleled except among slave traders, discharged all the fire arms in his vessel among the wretched beings, bound down and chained together as they were. Some of the sailors presumed to interfere, but the barbarian silenced their complaints by killing the foremost of them with his sabre. He then made sail again for the Rio Pongos, where, with the assistance of the slave factors, he got every thing put to rights, took in slaves to supply the number he had killed, and bore away for Havanna.

Captain Hayes, R. N., mentions the case of a slaver, having a large cargo of human beings chained together: "The master of the vessel, with more humanity than his fellows, permitted some of them to come on deck, but still chained together, for the benefit of the air, when they immediately commenced jumping overboard, hand in hand, and drowning in couples.' He explains the cause of this circumstance by saying, 'they were just brought from a situation between decks, and to which they knew they must return, where the scalding perspiration was running from one to the other, covered also with their own filth, and where it is no uncommon occurrence for women to be bringing forth children, and men dying by their side, with, full in their view, living and dead bodies chained together, and the living, in addition to

when he said, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why then do we deal treacherously every man with his brother, in profaning the covenant of our fathers?"

all their other torments, labouring under the most famishing thirst, being in a very few instances allowed more than a pint of water a day.' He goes on to say, "I have now an officer on board the 'Dryad,' who, on examining one of these slave vessels, found not only living men chained to dead bodies, but the latter in a putrid state; and we have now a case which, if true, is too horrible and disgusting to be described."

In a letter from captain Wauchope, dated 13th of eighth month, 1838, he says, "In second month, 1836, I was informed by Commander Puget, that the Spanish slaver, Argus, three months before this date, was chased by the Charybdis, Lieutenant Mercer; that during the chase ninety-seven slaves had been thrown overboard, and that a Spanish captain he had captured, declared he would never hesitate to throw the slaves overboard, to prevent being taken."

"Captain Wauchope in the same letter informs, that on the 18th of ninth month, 1836, the Thalia captured the Portuguese brig Felix, five hundred and ninety slaves on board. 'After capture,' he says, 'I went on board, and such a scene of horror it is not easy to describe; the long-boat on the booms, and the deck aft, were crowded with little children, sickly, poor little unhappy things, some of them rather pretty, and some much marked and tattoed; much pains must have been taken by their miserable parents to ornament and beautify them.

"'The women lay between decks aft, much crowded, and perfectly naked; they were not barred down, the hatchway, a small one, being off; but the place for the men was too horrible, the wretches, chained two and two, gasping and striving to get at the bars of the hatchways, and such a steam and stench as to make it intolerable even to look down. It requires much caution at first, in allowing them to go on deck, as it is a common practice for them to jump overboard to get quit of their misery.

He who of old heard the groans of the children of Israel under the hard task-masters in Egypt, I trust hath looked down from his holy habitation on the miseries of these deeply oppressed people. Many lives have been shortened through extreme oppression, while they laboured to support luxury and worldly greatness; and though many people in outward prosperity may think little of those things, yet the gracious Creator hath regard to the cries of the innocent, however unnoticed by men.

"'The slave-deck was not more than three feet six inches in height, and the human beings stowed, or rather crushed as close as possible; many appeared very sickly. There was no way of getting into the slave-room but by the hatchway. I was told, when they were all on deck to be counted, that it was impossible for any of our people to go into the slave-room for a single minute, so intolerable was the stench. The colour of these poor creatures was of a dark squalid yellow, so different from the fine glossy black of our liberated Africans and Kroomen. I was shown a man much bit and bruised; it was done in a struggle at the gratings of their hatchways, for a mouthful of fresh air.'

"The Carolina, captured in 1834, off Wydah. This vessel was only seventy-five tons burden, yet she had three hundred and fifty negroes crammed on board of her, one hundred and eighty of whom were literally so stowed as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up, when in a sitting posture. The poor creatures crowded round their deliverers, with their mouths open and their tongues parched for want of water, presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery.

"In a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, of date 20th of first month, 1837, we find it stated that the British brig Dolphin, had lately captured the corvette Incomprehensible; and that on taking possession of her, 'the scene presented on board was harrowing in the extreme. One hundred had died from sickness, out of the eight hundred embarked; another hundred were lying nearly lifeless on her decks, in wretchedness and misery, and all the

The Lord in the riches of his goodness is leading some into the feeling of the condition of this people, who cannot rest without labouring as their advocates; of which in some measure I have had experience, for in the movings of his love in my heart, these poor sufferers have been brought near to me.

The unoffending aged and infirm are made to labour too hard, kept on a diet less comfortable than their weak state requires, and exposed to great difficulties under

agony of despair; the remaining six hundred were so cramped from the close manner in which they were packed, like herrings in a barrel, and the length of time they had been on their voyage, and the cold they had endured in rounding the Cape, in a state of nudity, that it took the utmost exertions of the English sailors, favoured by a hot sun, to straighten them.'

"In a letter from Colonel Nicolls, at the Bahamas, of date 1st of eighth month, 1837, it is stated that 'the Esperanza, a Spanish slave schooner, had been wrecked on one of these islands during the preceding month. It was ascertained that this vessel had embarked three hundred and twenty negroes on the coast of Africa; of these only two hundred and twenty were landed at the time of the wreck. It appears that between sixty and seventy murders had been committed during the voyage on the helpless Africans; and in this manner:—When any of the slaves refused their food or became sick, the boatswain's mate, with a weighty club struck them on the back of the neck, when they fell, and were thrown overboard.' "

Shocking as these details are, the truth of them is indisputable; and while a system exists which inflicts such sufferings upon our innocent fellow-creatures, it cannot be a matter of indifference or unconcern to us. But especially are we called upon deeply to ponder this affecting subject, and to dwell under the weight of it, by the fact that our own country is implicated, in no small degree in the guilt of the traffic, it being well ascertained that American vessels, American capital and American citizens, are employed in its prosecution.—*Friends' Library, Vol. VI.*

hard-hearted men, to whose sufferings I have often been a witness, and under the heart-melting power of Divine love, their misery hath felt to me like the misery of my parents.

Innocent youth are taken by violence from their native land, from their friends and acquaintance; put on board ships with hearts laden with sorrow; exposed to great hardships at sea, and placed under people where their lives are attended with great provocation to anger and revenge.

With the condition of these youth my mind has often been affected, as with the afflictions of my children, and in a feeling of the misery of these people, and of that great offence which is ministered to them, my tears have been often poured out before the Lord.

That holy Spirit which affected my heart when I was a youth, I trust is often felt by the negroes in their native land, inclining their minds to that which is righteous; and had the professed followers of Christ in all their conduct toward them, manifested a disposition answerable to the pure principle in their hearts, how might the holy Name have been honoured amongst the Gentiles, and how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that prophecy, "I the Lord love judgment, I hate robbery for burnt-offerings, and I will direct their work in truth, and make an everlasting covenant with them. Their seed shall be known amongst the Gentiles, and their offspring amongst the people; all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed."

But in the present state of things, how contrary is our practice to that meek spirit, in which our Saviour laid down his life for us, that all the ends of the earth might know salvation in his name!

How are the sufferings of our blessed Redeemer set at naught, and his name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles, through the unrighteous proceedings of his professed followers!

My mind has often been affected, even from the days of my youth, under a sense of that marvellous work, for which God in infinite goodness sent his Son into the world.

The opening of that spring of living waters, which the true believers in Christ experience, by which they are redeemed from pride and covetousness, and brought into a state of meekness, where their hearts are enlarged in true love toward their fellow-creatures universally; is a work that to me has been precious, and spreading the knowledge of the Truth amongst the Gentiles, is very desirable. And the professed followers of Christ joining in customs evidently unrighteous, which manifestly tend to stir up wrath and increase wars and desolations, has often covered my mind with sorrow.

If we bring this matter home, and as Job proposed to his friends, "Put our soul in their soul's stead;" if we consider ourselves and our children as exposed to the hardships which these people lie under in supporting an imaginary greatness, and in such case, beheld an increase of luxury and superfluity amongst our oppressors, and therewith felt an increase of the weight of our burdens, and expected our posterity to groan under oppression after us; under all this misery, had we none to plead our cause, nor any hope of relief from man, how would our cries ascend to the God of the spirits of all flesh, who judgeth the world in righteousness, and in his own time is a refuge for the oppressed!

If they who thus afflicted us, continued to lay claim

to religion, and were assisted in their business by others, esteemed pious people, who through a friendship with them strengthened their hands in tyranny; if when we were hunger-bitten, we could not have sufficient nourishment, but saw them in fulness pleasing their taste with things fetched from far; if when we were wearied with labour, we were denied the liberty to rest, and saw them spending their time at ease; if garments answerable to our necessities were denied us, while we saw them clothed in that which was costly and delicate; under such affliction, how would these painful feelings rise up as witnesses against their pretended devotion! And if the name of their religion was mentioned in our hearing, how would it sound in our ears like a word which signified self-exaltation and hardness of heart!

When a trade is carried on productive of much misery, and they who suffer by it are some thousands of miles off, the danger is the greater, of not laying their sufferings to heart.

In procuring slaves on the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars also are encouraged amongst the negroes, but all is at a great distance.

Many groans arise from dying men, which we hear not.

Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children, which reach not our ears.

Many cheeks are wet with tears and faces sad with unutterable grief, which we see not.

Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened, and thousands reduced to the most abject slavery, who never injured us.

Were we for the term of one year only to be eye witnesses to what passes in getting these slaves;

Was the blood which is there shed to be sprinkled on our garments;

Were the poor captives bound with thongs and heavy laden with elephants' teeth, to pass before our eyes on their way to the sea:

Were their bitter lamentations day after day to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from sleeping:

Were we to hear the sound of the tumult when the slaves on board the ships attempt to kill the English, and behold the issue of those bloody conflicts:

What pious man could be a witness to these things, and see a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with sorrow?

Through abiding in the love of Christ we feel a tenderness in our hearts toward our fellow-creatures, entangled in oppressive customs; and a concern so to walk, that our conduct may not be a means of strengthening them in error.

It was the command of the Lord through Moses, "Thou shalt not suffer sin upon thy brother: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and shalt not suffer sin upon him."

Again; "Keep far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not."

The prophet Isaiah mentions oppression as that which the true church in time of outward quiet should not only be clear of, but should be far from it; "Thou shalt be far from oppression." Now these words, *far from*, appear to have an extensive meaning, and to convey instruction in regard to that of which Solomon speaks, "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished."

It was a complaint against one of old, "When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him."

The prophet Jeremiah represents the degrees of preparation toward idolatrous sacrifice, in the similitude of a work carried on by children, men and women. "The children gather wood, the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough to bake cakes for the queen of heaven."

It was a complaint of the Lord against Israel, through his prophet Ezekiel, that "they strengthened the hands of the wicked, and made the hearts of the righteous sad."

Some works of iniquity carried on by the people were represented by the prophet Hosea, in the similitude of ploughing, reaping and eating the fruit; "You have ploughed wickedness, reaped iniquity, eaten the fruit of lying, because thou didst trust in thy own way, to the multitude of thy mighty men."

I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of business and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves; and in loading the ships abundance of people are employed in the manufactories.

Friends in early time refused on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record, but for want of faithfulness some gave way, even some whose examples were of note in society, and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them, and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their ho uses,

and this hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

In this declining state many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter and get down to the rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound.

I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the Truth, keep in that tenderness of heart where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only on the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial, in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages to those whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

The prophet speaking of the true church, said, "Thy people also shall be all righteous." Of the depth of this Divine work several have spoken.

John Gratton, in his Journal, page 45, said "The Lord is my portion, I shall not want. He hath wrought all my works in me. I am nothing but what I am in him."

Gilbert Latey, through the powerful operations of the Spirit of Christ in his soul, was brought to that depth of self-denial, that he could not join with that proud spirit in other people, which inclined them to want vanities and superfluities. This Friend was often amongst the chief rulers of the nation in times of persecution, and it appears by the testimony of Friends, that his dwelling was so evidently in the pure life of Truth, that in his

visits to those great men, he found a place in their minds; and that King James the second, in the times of his troubles, made particular mention in a very respectful manner of what Gilbert once said to him.

The said Gilbert found a concern to write an epistle, in which are these expressions;

"Fear the Lord, ye men of all sorts, trades and callings, and leave off all the evil that is in them, for the Lord is grieved with all the evils used in your employments which you are exercised in."

"It is even a grief to see how you are servants to sin, and instruments of Satan." See his works, page 42, &c.

George Fox, in an epistle writes thus: "Friends, stand in the eternal power of God, witnesses against the pomps and vanities of this world.

"Such tradesmen who stand as witnesses in the power of God, cannot fulfill the people's minds in these vanities, and therefore they are offended at them.

"Let all trust in the Lord, and wait patiently on him; for when Truth first broke forth in London, many tradesmen could not take so much money in their shops for some time, as would buy them bread and water, because they withstood the world's ways, fashions and customs; yet by their patient waiting on the Lord in their good life and conversation, they answered the Truth in people's hearts, and thus their business increased." Book of Doctrinals, page 824.

Christ our holy Leader graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people, and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the state of things, are led by his holy Spirit into exercises in some respects different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and through the

constrainings of pure love, are engaged to open the feelings they have to others."

In faithfully following Christ, the heart is weaned from the desire of riches, and we are led into a life so plain and simple, that a little doth suffice, and thus the way openeth to deny ourselves, under all the tempting allurements of that gain, which we know is the gain of unrighteousness.

The apostle speaking on this subject, asketh this question; "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" And again saith, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." Again, "Be not partaker of other men's sins, keep thyself pure."

Where people through the power of Christ are thoroughly settled in a right use of things, and freed from all unnecessary care and expense, the mind in this true resignation is at liberty from the bands of a narrow self-interest, to attend from time to time on the movings of his Spirit upon us, though he leads into that through which our faith is closely tried.

The language of Christ is pure, and to the pure in heart this pure language is intelligible; but in the love of money, the mind being intent on gain, is too full of human contrivance to attend to it.

It appears evident that some channels of trade are defiled with unrighteousness, and that the minds of many are intent on getting treasures to support a life, in which there are many unnecessary expenses.

I feel a living concern attend my mind, that under these difficulties we may humbly follow our heavenly Shepherd, who graciously regardeth his flock, and is willing and able to supply us both inwardly and out-

wardly with clean provender, that has been winnowed with the shovel and the fan, where we may "sow to ourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy," and not be defiled with the works of iniquity.

Where customs contrary to pure wisdom are transmitted to posterity, it appears to be an injury committed against them; and I often feel tender compassion toward a young generation, with desires that their difficulties may not be increased through unfaithfulness in us of the present age.

CHAPTER II.

On a Sailor's life.

In the trade to Africa for slaves, and in the management of ships going on these voyages, many of our lads and young men have a considerable part of their education.

What pious father beholding his son placed in one of these ships to learn the practice of a mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where youth are exampled in means of getting money so full of violence, and used to exercise such cruelties on their fellow-creatures, the disadvantage to them in their education is very great.

But I feel it in my mind to write concerning the seafaring life in general.

In the trade carried on from the West Indies, and from some parts of the continent, the produce of the labour of slaves is a considerable part.

Sailors are frequently at ports where slaves abound, and converse often with people who oppress them without the appearance of remorse, and often with other sailors

employed in the slave trade, and how powerfully do these evil examples spread amongst the sea-faring youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and understand the general state of the sea-faring life amongst us, and my mind hath often been sad on account of so many lads and young men being trained up amidst so great corruption.

Under the humbling power of Christ I have seen, that if the leadings of his holy Spirit were faithfully attended to by his professed followers in general, the heathen nations would be exampled in righteousness, a less number of people would be employed on the seas, the channels of trade would be more free from defilement, and fewer people would be employed in vanities and superfluities.

The inhabitants of cities would also be less in number, and those who have much land would become fathers to the poor.

More people would be engaged in the sweet employment of husbandry; and in the path of pure wisdom, labour would be an agreeable, healthful employment.

In the opening of these things in my mind, I feel a living concern that we who have felt Divine love in our hearts may faithfully abide in it, and like good soldiers endure hardness for Christ's sake.

He, our blessed Saviour, exhorting his followers to love one another, adds, "As I have loved you." He loved Lazarus, yet in his sickness he did not heal him, but left him to endure the pains of death, that in restoring him to life, the people might be confirmed in the true faith.

He loved his disciples, but sent them forth on a message attended with great difficulty, amongst hard-hearted

people, some of whom thought that in killing them they did God service.

So deep is Divine love, that in steadfastly abiding in it, we are prepared to deny ourselves of all gain which is contrary to pure wisdom, and to follow Christ, even under contempt and through sufferings.

While Friends were kept truly humble and walked according to the purity of our principles, the Divine witness in many hearts was reached; but when a worldly spirit got entrance, therewith came in luxuries and superfluities, and spread by little and little, even amongst the foremost rank in society, and from thence others took liberty in that way more abundantly.

In the continuation of these things from parents to children, there were many wants to supply, even wants unknown to Friends while they faithfully followed Christ. In striving to supply these wants many have exacted on the poor, and many have entered on employments, in which they often labour in upholding pride and vanity. Many have looked on one another, been strengthened in these things, one by the example of another, and as to the pure divine seeing, dimness has come over many, and the channels of true brotherly love have been obstructed.

People may have no intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive ways of life, their minds may be so entangled therein and so engaged to support expensive customs, as to be estranged from the pure sympathizing spirit.

As I have travelled in England, I have had a tender feeling of the condition of poor people, some of whom though honest and industrious, have nothing to spare toward paying for the schooling of their children.

There is a right proportion between labour and the

necessaries of life, and in true brotherly love the mind is open to feel after the necessities of the poor.

Amongst the poor there are some that are weak through age, and others of a weakly nature, who pass through straits in very private life, without asking relief from the public.

Those who are strong and healthy may do business, which to the weakly may be oppressive; and in performing that in a day which is esteemed a day's labour, weakly persons in the field and in the shops, and weakly women who spin and knit in the manufactories, often pass through weariness; and many sighs I believe are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their burdens.

Labour in the right medium is healthy, but in too much of it there is a painful weariness; and the hardships of the poor are sometimes increased through the want of more agreeable nourishment, more plentiful fuel for fire, and warmer clothing in the winter than their wages will answer.

When I have beheld plenty in some houses to a degree of luxury; the condition of poor children brought up without learning, and the condition of the weakly and aged, who strive to live by their labour, have often revived in my mind, as cases of which some who live in fulness need to be put in remembrance.

There are few if any, who could behold their fellow-creatures lie long in distress and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any inconvenience; but customs requiring much labour to support them, do often lie heavily on the poor, while they who live in these customs are so entangled in a multitude of unnecessary concerns, that they think but little of the hardships which the poor people go through.

CHAPTER III.

On Silent Worship.

Worship in silence hath often been refreshing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worship.

Great expense is incurred in relation to that which is called Divine worship.

A considerable part of this expense is applied toward outward greatness, and many poor people in raising of tithe, labour in supporting customs contrary to the simplicity that there is in Christ, toward whom my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure silent worship, we dwell under the holy anointing, and feel Christ to be our shepherd.

Here the best of teachers ministers to the several conditions of his flock, and the soul receives immediately from the Divine fountain, that with which it is nourished.

I have travelled at times where those of other societies have attended our meetings, and have perceived how little some of them knew of the nature of silent worship; and I have felt tender desires in my heart that we who often sit silently in our meetings, may live answerably to the nature of an inward fellowship with God, that no stumbling block through us, may be laid in their way.

Such is the load of unnecessary expense laid in many places on that which is called Divine service, and so much are the minds of many people employed in outward forms and ceremonies, that the opening of an inward silent worship in this nation, to me, has appeared to be a precious opening.

Within the last four hundred years, many pious people

have been deeply exercised in soul, on account of the superstition which prevailed amongst the professed followers of Christ, and in support of their testimony against oppressive idolatry, some in several ages have finished their course in the flames.

It appears by the history of the reformation, that through the faithfulness of the martyrs, the understandings of many have been opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, been more and more prepared for spiritual worship.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of those people, who in different ages have been meek and patient, following Christ through great afflictions. And while I behold the several steps of reformation, and that clearness, to which through Divine Goodness, it hath been brought by our ancestors, I feel tender desires that we who sometimes meet in silence, may never by our conduct lay stumbling blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progress of the reformation in the world.

It was a complaint against some who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted bread to his altar, and said the table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real silent worship the soul feeds on that which is Divine; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the god of this world.

If Christ is our shepherd and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the Lord will not be polluted.

AN EPISTLE

TO THE

QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.

Beloved Friends,

Feeling at this time a renewed concern that the pure Spirit of light and life, and the righteous fruits thereof, may spread and prevail amongst mankind, there is an engagement on my heart to labour with my brethren in religious profession, that none of us may be a stumbling-block in the way of others; but that we may so walk that our conduct may reach the pure witness in the hearts of those who are not in profession with us.

And, dear friends, while we publicly own that the holy Spirit is our leader, the profession is in itself weighty, and the weightiness thereof increases, in proportion as we are noted among the professors of Truth, and active in dealing with those who walk disorderly.

Many under our profession for want of due attention, and a perfect resignation to this Divine teacher, have in some things manifested a deviation from the purity of our religious principles, and these deviations having crept in amongst us by little and little, and increasing from less to greater, have been so far unnoticed, that some living in them, have been active in putting discipline in practice, with relation to others, whose conduct has appeared more dishonourable in the world.

As my mind hath been exercised before the Lord, I have seen that the discipline of the church of Christ

standeth in that which is pure; that it is the wisdom from above which gives authority to discipline; and that the weightiness thereof standeth not in any outward circumstances, but in the authority of Christ who is the author of it; and where any walk after the flesh, and not according to the purity of Truth, and at the same time are active in putting discipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over its purity, and over that holiness of life, which Christ leads those into, "in whom the love of God is verily perfected."

When we labour in true love with offenders, and they remain obstinate, it sometimes is necessary to proceed as far as our Lord directed, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man, or a publican."

When such are disowned, and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom, and are preserved in his meek, restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministered to any; but when those who are active in dealing with offenders indulge themselves in things which are contrary to the purity of Truth, and yet judge others whose conduct appears more dishonourable than theirs, here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend. "Judge not," said our Lord, "that ye be not judged." This forbidding alludes to man's judgment, and points out the necessity of humbly attending to that sanctifying power under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judgment to them." And as we feel his holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, and can say, "it is no more I that live, but Christ that liveth in me," here right judgment is known.

While Divine love prevails in our hearts, and self in

us is brought under judgment, a preparation is felt to labour in a right manner with offenders; but if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others degenerates into formality; for "this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."

How weighty are those instructions of our Redeemer concerning religious duties, when he points out, that they who pray, should be so obedient to the teachings of the holy Spirit, that humbly confiding in his help, they may say, "Thy name O Father be hallowed! Thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." In this awful state of mind is felt that worship which stands in doing the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven, and keeping the holy name sacred. To take a holy profession upon us is awful, nor can we keep this holy name sacred, but by humbly abiding under the cross of Christ. The apostle made a heavy complaint against some who profaned this holy name by their manner of living; "through you," he says, "the name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles."

Some of our ancestors through many tribulations were gathered into the state of true worshippers, and had fellowship in that which is pure, and as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their assemblies and publicly call on the name of the Lord, those in the harmony of united exercise then present, joined in the prayer. I mention this in order that we of the present age may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember that to unite in worship, is a union in prayer, and that prayer is acceptable to the Father which is in a mind truly sanctified, where the sacred name is kept holy, and the heart resigned to do his will on earth as it is done in heaven. "If ye abide in me," saith Christ, "and my

words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will in my name, and it shall be done unto you." We know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds, and as we faithfully yield to its influences, our prayers are in the will of our heavenly Father, who fails not to grant that which his own Spirit, through his children, asketh;—thus preservation from sin is known, and the fruits of righteousness are brought forth by such who inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our solemn meetings when the name of Christ is kept holy?

"How precious is that state in which the children of the Lord are so redeemed from the love of this world, that they are accepted and blessed in all that they do." R. Barclay's Apology, page 404.

How necessary is it that we who profess these principles, and are active in supporting them, should faithfully abide in Divine strength, that "As He who hath called us is holy, so that we may be holy in all manner of conversation."

If one professing to be influenced by the Spirit of Christ, proposes to unite in a labour to promote righteousness in the earth, and in time past he hath manifestly deviated from the path of equity, then to act consistently with this principle, his first work is to make restitution so far as he may be enabled; for if he attempts to contribute toward a work intended to promote righteousness, while it appears that he neglecteth, or refuseth to act righteously himself, his conduct has a tendency to entangle the minds of those who are weak in the faith, who behold these things, and to draw a veil over the purity of righteousness, by carrying an appearance as though that was righteousness which is not.

Again, if I propose to assist in supporting those doctrines wherein that purity of life is held forth, in which customs proceeding from the spirit of this world have no place, and at the same time strengthen others in those customs by my example; the first step in an orderly proceeding, is to cease from those customs myself, and afterwards to labour, as I may be enabled, to promote the like disposition and conduct in others.

To be convinced of the pure principle of Truth, and diligently exercised in walking answerably thereto, is necessary before I can consistently recommend this principle to others. I often feel a labour in spirit, that we who are active members in religious society may experience in ourselves the truth of those expressions of the holy One—"I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." In this case, my mind hath been often exercised when alone year after year for many years, and in the renewings of Divine love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we who profess the light of Christ Jesus to be our teacher, may be a family united in that purity of worship, which comprehends a holy life, and ministers instruction to others.

My mind is often drawn towards children in the Truth, who having a small share of the things of this life, and coming to have families, may be exercised before the Lord to support them in a way agreeable to the purity of Truth, in which they may feel His blessing upon them in their labours. The thought of such being entangled with customs, contrary to pure wisdom, conveyed to them through our hands, often very tenderly and movingly affects my heart; and when I look towards and think on the succeeding generation, fervent desires are raised in me, that by yielding to that holy Spirit which

leads into all Truth, we may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully, may not live contrary to the purity of the Divine light we profess; but that as faithful labourers in our age, we may be instrumental in removing stumbling-blocks out of the way of those who may succeed us.

So great was the love of Christ, that he gave himself for the church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, that it should be holy, and without blemish, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. Where any take the name of Christ upon them, professing to be members of his church, and to be led by his holy Spirit, and yet manifestly deviate from the purity of Truth, they herein act against the gracious design of his giving himself for them, and minister cause for the continuance of his afflictions in his body, the church.

Christ suffered afflictions in a body of flesh prepared by the Father, but the afflictions of his mystical body are yet unfinished; for they who are baptized into Christ are baptized into his death, and as we humbly abide under his sanctifying power, and are brought forth into newness of life, we feel Christ to live in us, who, being the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and always at unity with himself, his Spirit in the hearts of his people leads to an inward exercise for the salvation of mankind. When under a travail of spirit, we behold a visited people entangled by the spirit of this world with its wickedness and customs, and thereby rendered incapable of being faithful examples to others, sorrow and heaviness under a sense of these things, are often experienced, and thus in some measure is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ.

Our blessed Saviour speaking concerning gifts offered in Divine service, says, "If thou bring thy gift to the

altar, and there remember that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Now there is no true unity, but in that wherein the Father and the Son are united, nor can there be a perfect reconciliation but in ceasing from that which ministers cause for the continuation of the afflictions of Christ; and if any professing to bring their gift to the altar, do remember the customary contradiction which some of their fruits bear to the pure, spiritual worship, here it appears necessary to lay to heart this command, "leave thy gift by the altar."

Christ graciously calls his people brethren; "whosoever shall do the will of God the same is my brother." If we walk contrary to the Truth as it is in Jesus while we continue to profess it, we offend against Christ, and if under this offence we bring our gift to the altar, our Redeemer doth not direct us to take back our gift, he doth not discourage our proceeding in a good work; but graciously points out the necessary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable; "leave," saith he, "thy gift by the altar, first go and be reconciled to thy brother," cease from that which grieves the holy Spirit, cease from that which is against the Truth as it is in Jesus, and then come and offer thy gift.

I feel, while I am writing, a tenderness to those who through Divine favour, are preserved in a lively sense of the state of the churches, and at times may be under discouragements with regard to proceeding in that pure way which Christ by his holy Spirit leads into. The depth of disorder and weakness, which so much prevails, being opened, doubtings are apt to arise as to the possibility of proceeding as an assembly of the Lord's people

in the pure counsel of Truth; and here I feel a concern to express in uprightness, that which hath been opened in my mind, under the power of the cross of Christ, relating to a visible gathered church, the members whereof are guided by the holy Spirit.

The church is called the body of Christ, Col. i, 25.—Christ is called the head of the church, Eph. i, 22. The church is called the pillar and ground of Truth, 1 Tim. iii, 15. Thus the church hath a name that is sacred, and the necessity of keeping this name holy, appears evident; for where a number of people unite in a profession of being led by the Spirit of Christ, and publish their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in some measure be considered as those of which Christ is the author.

While we stand in this station, if the pure light of life is not followed and regarded in our proceedings, we are in the way of profaning the holy name, and of going back toward that wilderness of sufferings and persecution, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath been gathered. "Christ liveth in sanctified vessels," and where they behold his holy name profaned, and the pure Gospel light eclipsed through the unfaithfulness of any who by their station appear to be standard bearers under the Prince of peace, the living members in the body of Christ, beholding these things, do in some degree experience the fellowship of his sufferings, and as the wisdom of the world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this visible gathered church, and the pure leadings of the holy Spirit are less waited for and followed, so the true suffering seed is more and more oppressed.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condi-

tion of sincere-hearted people in some kingdoms, where liberty of conscience is not allowed, many of whom being burthened in their minds with the prevailing superstition, joined with oppressions, are often under sorrow; and where such have attended to that pure light which has in some degree opened their understandings, and for their faithfulness thereto, have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy have been the persecutions which in divers parts of the world have been exercised upon them? How mighty, as to the outward, is that power by which they have been borne down and oppressed?

How deeply affecting is the condition of many upright-hearted people who are taken into the papal inquisition? What lamentable cruelties, in deep vaults, in a private way, are exercised on many of them? and how lingering is that death by a small slow fire, which those have frequently endured who have been faithful to the end?

How many tender-spirited Protestants have been sentenced to spend the reminder of their lives in a galley chained to oars, under hard-hearted masters, while their young children are placed out for education, and taught principles so contrary to the consciences of the parents, that by dissenting from them, they have hazarded their liberty, their lives, and all that was dear to them of the things of this world?

There have been in time past severe persecutions under the English government, and many sincere-hearted people have suffered death for the testimony of a good conscience, whose faithfulness in their day has ministered encouragement to others, and been a blessing to many who have succeeded them. Thus from age to age, the darkness being more and more removed, a channel ar

length, through the tender mercies of God, has been opened for the exercise of the pure gift of the Gospel ministry, without interruption from outward power, a work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world.

As these things are often fresh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the earth has been opened before me, that liberty of conscience with which we are favoured, has appeared not to be a light matter.

A trust is committed to us, a great and weighty trust, to which our diligent attention is necessary. Wherever the active members of this visible gathered church use themselves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this trust, and one step back toward the wilderness; one step towards undoing what God in infinite love hath done through his faithful servants in a work of several ages, and is like laying the foundation for future sufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to those who are active in our religious Society, that we may lay to heart this matter, and consider the station in which we stand; a place of outward liberty under the free exercise of our consciences towards God, not obtained but through the great and manifold afflictions of those who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father, and justice to our posterity. Can our hearts endure, or our hands be strong, if we desert a cause so precious, if we turn aside from a work in which so many have patiently laboured?

May the deep sufferings of our Saviour be so dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, or count the blood of the covenant unholy!

May the faithfulness of the martyrs when the prospect

of death by fire was before them, be remembered! May the patient constant sufferings of the upright-hearted servants of God in latter ages be revived in our minds! May we so follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor those in ages to come, may be brought under suffering, through our sliding back from the work of reformation in the world!

While the active members in the visible gathered church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the holy Spirit, although disorders may arise among us, and cause many exercises to those who feel the care of the churches upon them; yet while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred. But while they who are active in the affairs of the church, continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this as the prophet Isaiah expresseth it, is like "as when a standard bearer fainteth." Thus the way opens to great and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for those who, through the power of Divine love, are separated to the Gospel of Christ, and cannot unite with any thing which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

The necessity of an inward stillness, hath under these exercises appeared clear to my mind. In true silence strength is renewed, the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will, and a lowliness in outward living, opposite to worldly honour, becomes truly acceptable to us. In the desire after outward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ; but being weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine

will, the pure light shines into the soul. Where the fruits of that spirit which is of this world, are brought forth by many who profess to be led by the Spirit of Truth, and cloudiness is felt to be gathering over the visible church, the sincere in heart who abide in true stillness, and are exercised therein before the Lord for his name sake, have a knowledge of Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and inward thankfulness is felt at times, that through Divine love our own wisdom is cast out, and that forward active part in us subjected, which would rise and do something in the visible church, without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Christ.

While aught remains in us different from a perfect resignation of our wills, it is like a seal to a book wherein is written "that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God concerning us;" but when our minds entirely yield to Christ, that silence is known, which followeth the opening of the last of the seals, Rev. viii, 1. In this silence we learn to abide in the Divine will, and there feel that we have no cause to promote but that only in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings, and that the alone way to be useful in the church of Christ, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his holy Spirit in all cases, that being preserved thereby in purity of heart and holiness of conversation, a testimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us to others.

As my mind hath been thus exercised, I have seen that to be active and busy in the visible gathered church, without the leadings of the holy Spirit is not only unprofitable, but tends to increase dimness, and where way is not opened to proceed in the light of Truth, a stop is felt by those who humbly attend to the Divine Leader, a

stop which in relation to good order in the church, is of the greatest consequence to be observed. Robert Barclay in his treatise on discipline, holds forth, pages 65, 68, 84, "That the judgment or conclusion of the church or congregation, is no further effectual as to the true end and design thereof, but as such judgment or conclusion proceeds from the Spirit of God operating on their minds who are sanctified in Christ Jesus."

In this stop I have learned the necessity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to light, and those to judgment which are wrought in the wisdom of this world, and have also seen, that in a mind thoroughly subjected to the power of the cross, there is a savour of life to be felt, which evidently tends to gather souls to God, while the greatest works in the visible church, brought forth in man's wisdom, remain to be unprofitable.

Where people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowship, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, "they are the light of the world." Holding this profession, to me appears weighty, even beyond what I can fully express, and what our blessed Lord seemed to have in view, when he proposed the necessity of counting the cost, before we begin to build.

I trust there are many who at times, under Divine visitation, feel an inward inquiry after God, and when such in the simplicity of their hearts mark the lives of a people who profess to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment is it that our lights shine clear, that nothing in our conduct carry a contradiction to the Truth as it is in Jesus, or be a means of profaning

his holy name, and be a stumbling-block in the way of sincere inquirers.

When such seekers, wearied with empty forms, look towards uniting with us as a people, and behold active members among us depart in their customary way of living from that purity of life, which under humbling exercises has been opened before them as the way of the Lord's people, how mournful and discouraging is the prospect! and how strongly doth such unfaithfulness operate against the spreading of the peaceable, harmonious principles and testimony of truth amongst mankind?

In entering into that life which is hid with Christ in God, we behold his peaceable government, where the whole family are governed by the same spirit, and the "doing to others as we would they should do unto us," groweth up as good fruit from a good tree: the peace, quietness, and harmonious walking in this government is beheld with humble reverence to Him who is the author of it, and in partaking of the Spirit of Christ, we partake of that which labours and suffers for the increase of this peaceable government among the inhabitants of the world. I have felt a labour of long continuance that we who profess this peaceable principle, may be faithful standard-bearers under the Prince of peace, and that nothing of a defiling nature, tending to discord and wars, may remain among us.

May each of us query with ourselves, have the treasures I possess, been gathered in that wisdom which is from above, so far as has appeared to me?

Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part of what is called mine?

Have the gifts and possessions received by me from

others, been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteousness so far as I have seen?

The principle of peace in which our trust is only on the Lord, and our minds weaned from a dependance on the strength of armies, has appeared to me very precious; and I often feel strong desires, that we who profess this principle, may so walk, as to give no just cause for any of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us; and that our lives may evidently manifest, that we are redeemed from that spirit in which wars are. Our blessed Saviour in pointing out the danger of so leaning on man, as to neglect the leadings of his holy Spirit, said, "Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your father which is in heaven." Where the wisdom from above is faithfully followed, and therein we are entrusted with substance, it is a treasure committed to our care, in the nature of an inheritance from Him who formed and supports the world. In this condition the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is understood, and that blessing felt, in which is real safety; this is what I apprehend our blessed Lord had in view, when he pronounced, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Selfish worldly-minded men may hold lands in the selfish spirit, and depending on the strength of outward power, may be perplexed with secret uneasiness, lest the injured should at sometime overpower them, and that measure be meted to them, which they measure to others. Thus selfish men may possess the earth; but it is the meek who inherit it, and enjoy it as an inheritance from their heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteousness.

Where proceedings have been in that wisdom which is from beneath, and inequitable gain gathered by a man,

and left as a gift to his children, who being entangled by the same worldly spirit, have not attained to that clearness of light in which the channels of righteousness are opened, and justice done to those who remain silent under injuries; here I have seen under humbling exercise of mind, that the sins of the fathers are embraced by the children, and become their sins, and thus in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon these children, who take hold of the unrighteousness of their fathers, and live in that spirit in which those iniquities were committed. To this agreeth the prophecy of Moses, concerning a rebellious people, "They that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquities in your enemy's land, and in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away." Our blessed Lord in beholding the hardness of heart in that generation, and feeling in himself, that they lived in the same spirit in which the prophets had been persecuted unto death, signified "that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world, should be required of that generation, from the blood of Abel. unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple."

Tender compassion fills my heart toward my fellow-creatures estranged from the harmonious government of the Prince of peace, and a labour attends me, that they may be gathered to this peaceable habitation.

In being inwardly prepared to suffer adversity for Christ's sake, and weaned from a dependance on the arm of flesh, we feel that there is a rest for the people of God, and that it stands in a perfect resignation of ourselves to his holy will. In this condition all our wants and desires are bounded by pure wisdom, and our minds are wholly attentive to the counsel of Christ inwardly

communicated. This has appeared to me a habitation of safety for the Lord's people, in times of outward commotion and trouble, and desires from the fountain of pure love are opened in me, to invite my brethren and fellow-creatures to feel for, and seek after that which gathers the mind into it.

JOHN WOOLMAN

Mount Holly, New Jersey,
Fourth month, 1772.

THE END.